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Quarterly

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PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

THE ART QUARTERLY is published each Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, by the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit 2, Michigan. Price: \$1.25 per copy, \$5.00 per year. Entered as second-class matter February 24, 1938, at the post office at Detroit, Michigan, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Peter Magill, advertising representative
Room 300, 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

The ART Quarterly

PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Edited by W. R. VALENTINER *and* E. P. RICHARDSON

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VOLUME IX

NUMBER 2

SPRING, 1946

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Volume 1, No. 1, Spring 1968

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VOL. IX, NO. 2

THE ART QUARTERLY

SPRING, 1946



*Fig. 1. A Tang Mirror of the K'ai-yüan Period (713-742 A.D.)
Seattle Art Museum*

A RARE T'ANG MIRROR

By SCHUYLER CAMMANN

DR. FULLER of the Seattle Art Museum recently acquired for his collection of Chinese bronzes a very fine metal mirror, with unusually elaborate ornamentation.¹ This contains a number of symbols that must once have been fairly common, but which do not appear elsewhere on Chinese works of art in American collections, and their very meaning has been forgotten even in China. These we shall undertake to interpret during the course of the article. The symbols of the design are rendered in a particular type of low relief, which together with various other technical details and the few, more familiar elements in its unusual design, identify it as a mirror of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A.D.).

At first glance the mirror seems fairly small, considering the wealth of detail on its back, though it actually measures eight inches in diameter, and being rather thick, weighs two pounds, fourteen ounces. In appearance it is very pleasing. It has a bright silver patination with a contrasting green encrustation which, as can be seen (Fig. 1), in some places slightly obscures the design. In addition it has two brownish-red spots in the central field and a few small flecks of the same color in other places.

The presence of the latter furnishes an interesting clue to its more precise dating, for the *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu*,² a Ming work on Chinese basic industries, in discussing bronze alloys, says that in the K'ai-Yüan period of the T'ang (713-742 A.D.) the mirrors of the court all had various percentages of silver used in their casting, and that all of those with several ounces of silver in them are streaked or spotted with cinnabar as an outward manifestation of the gold or silver contained in them. In spite of the fact that this explanation does not sound scientifically plausible,³ we know that the mirrors of the K'ai-Yüan period actually were made from new alloys,⁴ and it is significant that the Ming metallurgists noted that when aged, the better examples from the court of that time had reddish-brown streaks or spots as a result. Therefore, as the low relief, the silvery patina, and certain elements of the design prove this mirror to be an unquestionable T'ang example, that additional characteristic would seem to identify it as a court mirror of the K'ai-Yüan period, dating from the early eighth century.

That was a golden age, the high point of T'ang artistic and cultural achievement, when the great Emperor Hsüan-tsung was in his prime—before he

succumbed to the blandishments of beautiful Yang Kuei-fei, ruining himself and his empire—at the time when the great poets Li Po and Tu Fu were writing their world-famous lines. This mirror is technically speaking a worthy product of the age, but philosophically speaking, its value is even greater; for its elaborate ornamentation not only portrays in graphic form some of the classical metaphors of the T'ang poets, but also reveals to us many basic concepts of the great philosophies of the period.

From this point of view it is invaluable, especially as no mirror with a similar combination of symbols is known to exist in any modern collection. Only two mirrors with this pattern can be found in all the prodigious literature on metal mirrors in Chinese, Japanese, and European languages. The first of these appears in the illustrated catalogue of ancient mirrors in the collection of the Sung Emperor Hui-tsung, published in 1107. This volume, called the *Hsüan-ho Po-ku t'u lu*,⁵ pictures a mirror of identical design (Fig. 2) which it calls the "T'ang Auspicious-Pictures Mirror."⁶ (The name is an allusion to words in the outer inscription.) Only a brief comment describes the mirror, contributing very little information, but luckily it gives its specifications which correspond almost exactly to those of the mirror now in Seattle. Allowing for differences in the systems of measurement used, and the slight variations in the Sung foot-rules, its diameter must have been about eight inches, and its weight identical.⁷

More than six centuries later, when the mirrors of the Imperial Collection were again catalogued and described by order of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor (in the *Hsi-ch'ing ku chien* of 1749), this distinctive T'ang mirror was not among them. In the meantime three foreign invasions—by the Jurchen Tartars, the Mongols and the Manchus—had scattered the original collections, and no doubt this mirror fell into other hands during one of those catastrophes.

The second mirror is illustrated and described in the *Chin shih so*,⁸ a volume of antiquarian studies published in 1822, but as its diameter is given as fully twice that of the first mirror and its weight is many times heavier,⁹ it was clearly not the same one. Furthermore, as one phrase of the inscription on its inner ring had been miswritten, and the accompanying symbol slurred, probably because it was misunderstood,¹⁰ this was undoubtedly a later copy, if not a deliberate forgery from an old pattern.

We cannot say for sure whether the T'ang mirror now in Seattle is the same that once graced the palace collection of the Son of Heaven, for it is not impossible that the original maker might have cast more than one of this

type. If not, it is at least its mate, and it is no less valuable as the only known example of a rare T'ang type still in existence.

However, as we have intimated, the symbolism on the back of the mirror is fully as interesting as the possible history of the thing itself, because it tells us so much about the ideas and beliefs of the people of medieval China.

II

The central portion of the mirror back, with its boss, comprises a cosmic diagram, a somewhat more naturalistic rendering of the familiar conventionalized plan of the universe found on the Han mirrors of an earlier period (c.200 B.C.-100 A.D.). The designs on the backs of the latter generally had a square inner field representing the Earth, and a high boss to indicate the "World-mountain," its vertical axis; while an outer, circular band, sometimes figured with conventionalized cloud forms or sky dragons, represented the circle (or dome) of Heaven (Fig. 3).

On this T'ang mirror, the central boss is rendered in a manner recalling the lids of the Han mountain-jars and hill-censers,¹¹ leaving no doubt that it is intended to represent a mountain; and on close inspection it is seen to have four peaks grouped around a fifth, marking the four directions and the center. This is the traditional form of the legendary World-mountain, which was thought to occupy the center of the Earth.¹²

In ancient times the Chinese had thought of Sung Shan, a high mountain in modern Honan (North Central China) as the center of the Universe, since it was at the middle of their kingdom. But the westward expansion of the Chinese Empire into Central Asia during the Han (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), and cultural and commercial contacts with Indians, Persians, and even the Romans, beginning in that dynasty, had expanded their notions of geography. Thus, long before this mirror was made, the Chinese had come to consider semi-mythical K'un-lun Shan, in Central Asia, as the center of the Universe,¹³ equating it with Mt. Meru, the world-mountain of the Indian Buddhists, who were now beginning to attain great influence in China. No doubt, then, a man of the T'ang who saw this mirror would have immediately thought of K'un-lun Shan rather than Mt. Sung in connection with the symbolic mountain depicted on its boss.

From this mountain four continental masses at the bases of the four lesser peaks¹⁴ spread outward in the Four Directions, forming a double axis on the horizontal plane.¹⁵ The waves which occupy the intervening spaces and lap at the ends of the land masses are intended to represent the Four Seas

which traditionally bounded the Earth. This water area, though it sweeps outward to conform with the curved lines of the surrounding circular bands, is extended out around the arms of the cross formed by the land, thus keeping the whole central unit in a fundamentally quadrilateral plan, so as not to lose entirely the traditional concept of the Earth as a square.

Another T'ang mirror, formerly owned by Yamanaka's in London,¹⁶ had this motive alone. A square mirror with wavy edges, it showed the central mountain mass with projecting ridges extending out to the corners, and the Four Seas in the roughly V-shaped areas between.

The Seattle mirror, however, does not stop with the Earth, but like the Han mirrors shows the whole Universe. For the circle which bounds the central portion, outlined in beads (which possibly represent stars) marks the circle of Heaven. The Sky, between the land and sea and the encompassing dome of Heaven, is indicated by the four conventionalized cloud puffs, which are strikingly like those on the textiles of later dynasties, and thus incidentally illustrate the essential continuity of many common Chinese art forms.

On the Han mirrors showing the plan of the Universe, the Four Directions were usually emphasized by T-shaped projections from the "square of Earth"¹⁷—a device maintained in the Lama Buddhist representations of the Universe to the present—and also by the animals of the Four Quarters, shown at the four sides. Sometimes the latter occur on T'ang mirrors as well, and at first glance it might appear that two of them were being used here (the tortoise and the dragon)¹⁸ for the same purpose. However, the four directions have already been emphasized by the extensions of the land from the central mountain, and the animals do not correspond. Therefore, for this reason and for others to be mentioned, we must look for another explanation for their presence.

The Tortoise of the North, from Han times to the present day, has always been shown entwined by a coiling snake, this inseparable combination being known as the "Black Warrior" (*hsüan wu*). Alone, the tortoise was not considered as a symbol of a direction, though the tortoise here is related to the Tortoise of the North inasmuch as both represent the *Yin*, or female element in the Universe, associated with winter and night, cold and darkness. This is because the tortoise is cold-blooded, fond of moisture and prone to hide in dark, damp places, and because Chinese natural history considers all tortoises as female, believing that they must be fertilized by a snake.¹⁹ The tortoise, at the time this mirror was made, was also considered as a symbol



Fig. 2. A Similar T'ang Mirror from the "Po-ku t'u lu"



*Fig. 3. A Han TLV Mirror showing the contemporary plan of the Universe
Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art*

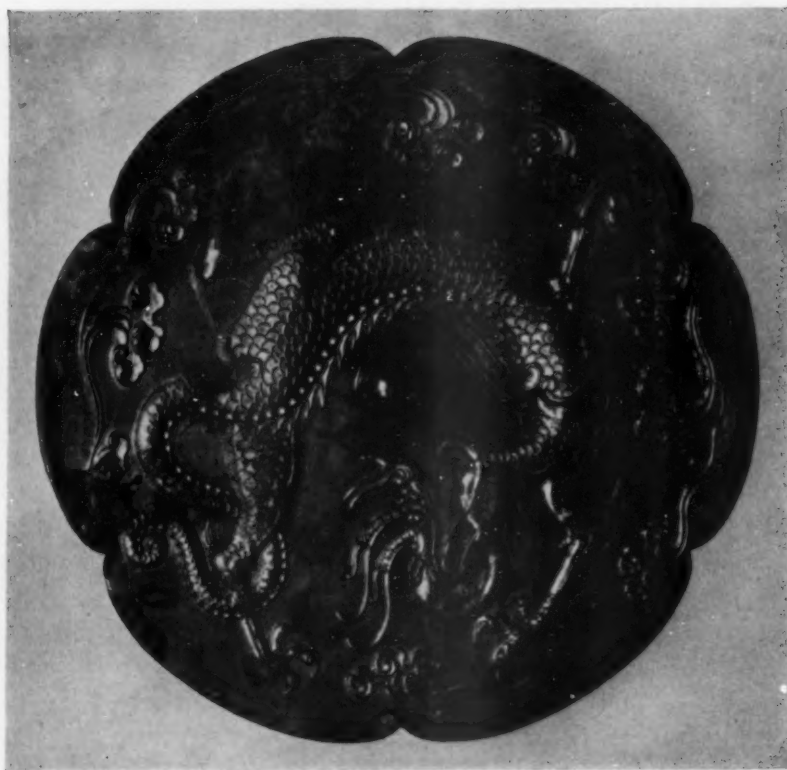


Fig. 4. A T'ang Dragon Mirror showing a typical T'ang-style dragon
Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art



Fig. 5. A conventional T'ang Marriage Mirror
Author's Collection

of Long Life because of its reputed great age. (In later times it was considered as obscene and dropped out of use as a symbol.)

Similarly, the dragon here is not the Dragon of the East, as such, but an emblem of the *Yang*, or male element in the Universe, associated with summer and daytime, heat and light. Originally the dragon was considered as a neutral animal, neither wholly *yang* nor wholly *yin*, and as such it still figures when used as one of the twelve animals of the Zodiac. But from another point of view, the soaring dragon was the *yang* symbol par excellence. For the old traditions said: "At the spring equinox the dragon ascends into the sky, at the autumn equinox it sinks back into the deep."²⁰ Thus it reigns during the summer when the *yang* influence is at its height.

Here the typical T'ang-style dragon, with his gazelle horns, three-clawed feet, and body twisted into strange contortions, is pictured in the very act of rising from the waves to ascend into the empyrean. Like the dawning sun, he is the ascendant *Yang*.

Incidentally, this form of dragon is an unmistakable sign of the T'ang period, by which we might have dated this mirror even without the other contributing evidence. It was often used alone as the sole decoration on mirrors of this period (Fig. 4, also bottom of mirror in Fig. 5).

The *Yin* and the *Yang* are considered to be physically and spiritually mated in the Universe, and probably the dragon was used on this mirror to replace the tortoise's traditional mate, the snake, because the latter creature had so many other unpleasant and inauspicious associations. At any rate the two animals, dragon and tortoise, are twice repeated, forming two axes—one positive and one negative—across the center of the mirror, to represent the *Yang* and *Yin*, male and female, as dividing the Universe between them.

The animals in the outer band of decoration, which are paired like the dragon and the tortoise (but for another reason which we shall discuss presently), are also connected with the *Yin-Yang* concept. Three of them represent the positive *Yang* (serpent, horse and sheep), three represent the positive *Yin* (pig, rat and ox), and two other groups of three each are neutral (tiger, hare and dragon; monkey, cock and dog). These are the animals of the Far Eastern zodiac,²¹ used quite commonly on T'ang mirrors²² to replace the "twelve branches" (*shih-erb chih*) which were shown merely as characters on the mirrors of Han, and of which the animals are the exact equivalents.²³ As such they are both temporal and spatial symbols.

As temporal symbols the twelve animals represent the hours of the day (in

twelve two-hour periods), the months of the year, and the years of the Chinese (sixty-year) cycle. Because of this they have been used in Chinese astrology and divination since at least the sixth century A.D.²⁴ They are particularly important in casting horoscopes such as those made to determine a suitable marriage. In this connection six of the animals are supposed to have violent antipathies against individuals among the other six (such as horse vs. ox; sheep vs. rat), and if, for example, the husband-to-be was born under the sign of the horse and the intended bride under the sign of the ox, the peace and prosperity of the future home would be so greatly endangered that the marriage between them could not take place.²⁵

As spatial symbols the twelve animals represent the chief divisions of the sky, as well as the compass directions on earth (rat, north; horse, south; cock, east; and hare, west). This concept relates them intimately with the central design. In fact, by contributing the elements of Space and Time, they unite with the inner portion of the mirror to complete the Universal plan.

Now we can see that the basic symbolism of this mirror as a whole corresponds in concept to that on the famous one which figures in the *Ku-ching chi* of Wang Tu (written in the sixth century). The detailed description of the latter as given in that book, has been summed up in a passage that would apply to this one as well: "It was a representation of the Universe with its natural phenomena and the divisions of time, thus an image of the *Tao* or order of the World, and therefore entirely destructive to all beings who disturb that order by wantonly attacking it."²⁶

Thus the first meaning in this mirror's symbolism indicates its primary purpose, which was to protect its owners, averting evil influences in the form of bad fortune, malignant demons or disease, by religio-magical means.

III

The mirror's second and more specific meaning is partially suggested by the fact that the animals of the zodiac are shown in pairs, a rare convention seldom seen elsewhere in Chinese art.²⁷ We can see that they are all intended to represent the male and female of each species as mates by the fact that the cock is accompanied by a hen and two chicks, their offspring. (The other groups are not sufficiently differentiated to emphasize this.) This unusual pairing, plus the fact that the symbols of the middle register—which we shall next consider—are not only paired, but are joined or linked in such a way that they naturally symbolize mates in wedlock, would seem to show beyond a doubt that this mirror was made to be a "marriage mirror." As such it would

first have served as a wedding or betrothal present, and then been used in the actual ceremonies attending a Chinese marriage.

Then as now (among conservative Chinese of the old school), the bride-to-be, riding in a curtained cart or sedan chair to the home of the groom's parents, would carry such a mirror in her lap to avert evil en route, and later it would be hung over the marriage bed to repel evil forces and insure continuing good fortune to the couple.

Unless the "Hsi-wang-mu and Tung-wang-kung" mirrors of the Three Kingdoms Period (third century A.D.) were "marriage mirrors," as their subject would have suited them to be,²⁸ our first well-developed examples are from the T'ang period. As a rule T'ang marriage mirrors generally had a pair of phoenixes or "mandarin ducks," or a pair of magpies carrying cords (Fig. 5), with one or two accessory symbols,²⁹ or more often merely a few ornamental designs in the border to set off the birds. The Seattle mirror also has the paired birds (two sets of them), but they are unobtrusively tucked away among the other symbols of the middle register.

All but two of the twelve symbols in this inner ring have dropped out of Chinese art and tradition, with their meanings forgotten. However, they had been explained, along with many others which have met the same fate, in several books of the Six Dynasties Period (220-589 A.D.), when interest in auspicious symbols seems to have been especially strong. The most notable of these was the *Sung Shu*³⁰ or History of the (Liu) Sung Dynasty, written in the first part of the sixth century about two hundred years before the mirror was made. This mentions all but one of the twelve, and even that is explained by inference.

Unfortunately these explanations are not too satisfactory, for although all the symbols listed had obviously been ancient mythological or religious symbols from Chinese folklore, by this time their original meanings had been lost or obscured under the rationalizations of dour Confucian scholars. These men gave them new moralistic interpretations in order to inculcate the nation with proper Confucian ideals. As now presented, the symbols were intended primarily to remind the ruling classes of their obligations and to teach the people what to expect under an ideal sovereign.

This development must have been completed long before the *Sung Shu* was written, as almost four centuries previously, a stone shrine was erected before the tomb of Wu Liang, a gentleman-scholar of the Later Han (d. 151 A.D.), with more than seventy of these auspicious symbols carved on

its two roof slabs.³¹ Of these only about twenty-two remain in good enough condition to make them out³²—four of which reappear on this mirror.³³ What is more, all of them had lateral inscriptions with a pronounced Confucian twist, explaining them in practically the same words we find in the *Sung Shu*.³⁴

Thus we see that the symbols on the mirror's inner band were taken from a large group of traditional ones, which by the T'ang Dynasty had already acquired literary connotations of several centuries standing. Significantly, however, out of at least a hundred auspicious animals, plants and objects of good omen from which to choose, the maker of the mirror took only twelve, which were paired, with associations of close union, and as such suggestive of wedlock. To him they were doubtless nothing more than the most obvious marriage symbols he could find. But in order to know what these symbols meant to other people of the time—and without such an approach we cannot fully understand this mirror—we must explore all their meanings, even the arid Confucian rationalizations; for the T'ang officials as a class were strongly imbued with orthodox ideas from their Confucian training, and if one of these saw the mirror he would probably have thought only of the classical interpretations of the twelve symbols and have missed their other implications.³⁵

The auspicious symbols, consisting of small pictures and accompanying inscriptions, are arranged in twelve sets to conform to the number of the zodiacal animals in the outer rim of the mirror. The characters are in several cases archaic, and if they had not been replaced with more modern ones by the author of the *Po-ku t'u lu*, we might be hard-pressed to decipher some of them. They simply describe the pictures (many of which would otherwise have been incomprehensible today), but some of them also form elaborate puns connected with marriage which extend the meaning of the symbols.

If we follow the example of the *Po-ku t'u lu* and begin our study of the symbols and their inscriptions from the top, or South side of the mirror, proceeding counter-clockwise in Chinese fashion, it immediately becomes apparent that the pairs of symbols on the opposite sides of the circle match each other all the way around, making six pairs of related symbols, as follows:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>fêng-huang</i> , "the male and female Chinese phoenix" | 7. <i>t'ung-hsin niao</i> , "birds of the same mind" |
| 2. <i>chia ho</i> , "excellent grain" | 8. <i>chia mai</i> , "excellent wheat" |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. <i>ho-kuan lien</i> , "lotuses joined in delight" | 9. <i>chia kua</i> , "the auspicious melon" |
| 4. <i>pi-i (niao)</i> , "(the birds with) mutual wings" | 10. <i>pi-mu yü</i> , "fish with mutual eyes" |
| 5. <i>lien-li chu</i> , "linked bamboos" | 11. <i>lien-li shu</i> , "joined trees" |
| 6. <i>chin-shêng</i> , "the golden hair-ornament" | 12. <i>ho pi</i> , "the united jade discs" |

(Those wishing to consult the characters will find them given in Fig. 2)

The male and female phoenix (*fêng* and *huang*)³⁶ have long been used as wedding symbols in China to signify the resplendent bride and bridegroom, and are commonly shown in this connection on T'ang marriage mirrors. One reason for this is the ancient tradition that the phoenix has "the mind of a mandarin duck,"³⁷ which is proverbial for being monogamous and having a deep affection for its mate. Another is the old literary quotation to the effect that the coming of the phoenix is "an excellent happy omen," *chia jui*,³⁸ while a pun on the word *chia*, which also means "marriage"³⁹ gives the phrase an additional meaning of "a happy omen of marriage," and it was apparently so taken in T'ang times.

If popular tradition thought of the phoenix as a symbol of happy augury, specifically in marriage, it meant much more to the Confucians who had loaded it with classical interpretations. In the first place, describing the bird, they said that the patterns on its plumage expressed the Five Virtues: "The markings on its head say Good Conduct, the markings on its wings say Propriety, the markings on its back say Righteousness, the markings on its breast say Benevolence, and the markings on its abdomen say Sincerity."⁴⁰ In the second place, like most of the other "auspicious symbols," its appearance, either actual or in the form of an auspicious apparition (*jui-t'u*), was thought to be an omen of good government. To take one of the many quotations on the subject: "When the state is peaceful, and its ruler enjoys literary pursuits, then the *fêng-huang* makes its home there; when the state is in turmoil, and its ruler enjoys warlike pursuits, then it leaves."⁴¹

The "birds of the same mind" are depicted as confronted ducks, the same pair that occur on so many T'ang marriage mirrors and have often been described as "mandarin ducks," though they are obviously not the latter, lacking their distinctive head-form and tail plumage.⁴² The "same mind" was apparently considered to mean mutual affection as well as the inability to think independently (analagous to the "birds with mutual wings" who were

unable to fly alone), and as such they were natural marriage symbols. The Confucian interpretation of these was: "When the virtue of the ruler extends to the Four Directions, and the distant barbarians are united, the birds of the same mind will arrive."⁴³

These two pairs of birds are the only symbols among the group of twelve that seem to have had wide use in T'ang art; and the phoenix is the only one of the twelve to have continued down to the present day unchanged.

The two symbols of "excellent grain" (*chia ho*) and "excellent wheat" (*chia mai*), in their most literal meanings convey good wishes for abundant crops—an important consideration for everybody, farmers or otherwise, in a nation like T'ang China whose economy depended chiefly on agriculture—but here the picture suggests that the meaning is supposed to extend to the human world, with the two grain stalks joining to produce a single heavy ear—shown in each case—referring to fortunate offspring for a couple joined in wedlock. In corroboration of this, *chia ho*, using another meaning for the first word as in the phoenix quotation,⁴⁴ and another character of the same sound for the second, is a pun meaning "marital harmony." (The second expression *chia mai* is very possibly also a pun, but as the second character still has several alternative pronunciations and may have had others in the T'ang, we have been unable to trace the word which may have been substituted for it.)

The auspicious grains as Confucian symbols of good augury are more usually described as several ears sprouting from one stalk, although two stalks joining to produce one ear are also mentioned in classical writings, explained by the Confucian proverb: "When the ruler's virtue is abundant, then two sprouts will put forth an ear together."⁴⁵ This explanation not only applies to the two grain symbols we have just considered, but also to similar phenomena in other plants, like the two that follow, neither of which has an explanation of its own.

The pictures of the next pair, lotus and melon, indicate that they are related to the last,⁴⁶ since they also show two plants combining to form a single fruit (or flower), but as symbols they are susceptible to wider interpretation. The melon in itself has for centuries been considered as an auspicious plant, symbolic of wealth and abundance because of its many seeds. The idea here could therefore be extended to mean that the man and wife symbolized by the two melon stalks would join to bring forth a rich and successful son. Similarly, as the lotus flower has long been noted among the Chinese for its

purity and beauty, the two stems joining to produce one beautiful flower probably conveyed the idea of man and wife joining to bring forth a chaste and beautiful daughter.

In the classics the joined lotuses are referred to as *chia lien*,⁴⁷ which, because of the pun on *chia*, one might have expected the maker of the mirror to use here. But as the complete pun would therefore be an almost too obvious reference to marital privilege, he has used another expression—which we have been unable to find elsewhere—that also makes a pun to convey the same idea more subtly.

The (two) "birds with mutual wings" (*pi-i niao*) were a mythical duck-like species, called *chien-chien* or *man-man*. These are described in the old chronicles as having only one eye and one wing (and in some accounts only one foot), so that they had to join in pairs to fly and were helpless alone.⁴⁸ Similarly the (two) "fish with mutual eyes" (*pi-mu yü*) were a species called *tieh* (and various other names), which the ancient Chinese believed had only one eye apiece, and that they therefore had to join together in pairs in order to be able to see well enough to travel about.⁴⁹ (Actually the *tieh* was a real fish, a flatfish related to our flounder or sole, but the Chinese apparently did not notice for a long time that they had two eyes, both on one side, and swam horizontally; and instead thought they had to swim upright like other fish, requiring a complement to make them complete.)

Both of these symbols were carved on the roof of slabs of Wu Liang's offering shrine with Confucian inscriptions beside them.⁵⁰ That for the birds says: "When the virtue of the ruler extends high and far, then they will appear";⁵¹ and that for the fish says: "When the virtue of the ruler is wide and bright, and there is no place where it does not penetrate (i.e. even the deep sea) then they will be seen."⁵²

Traditionally the paired birds came from a mountain far to the west of China, while the paired fish came from the Eastern Sea, but the maker of the mirror made no effort to orient them to correspond to this. Apparently the only thing that interested him was that the mutual interdependence of each pair made them ideal marriage symbols.

In this connection we should note that a pair of fish in relief against a background of waves was frequently used in later times as a pattern for wedding mirrors, and while these are not flatfish but carp, their use may well have grown out of an old tradition of interdependent fish when the exact details of the original legend had been forgotten.

The joined trees and the linked bamboos are equally natural symbols of marriage. To make the idea more graphic the maker of the mirror has depicted three young shoots at the base of the bamboo stalks to indicate the products of their union. The bamboo is frequently used in China to symbolize youth while the tree is a symbol of maturity, so it is possible that he meant to convey the idea of a couple mated in youth and living together in old age.

The earliest occurrence of the joined trees as a symbol is at Wu Liang's shrine, where it was accounted for by the Confucian proverb: "When the virtue of the ruler is all pervading, and pure (unmixed) substances are blended, and the Eight Regions (of the Earth) become one, then the trees will grow together";⁵³ and its latest, as far as we can determine, is in a painting by the Late Ming artist Ting Yün-p'êng.⁵⁴ We have been unable to find other instances of the linked bamboo symbol, either in literature or in art, but it undoubtedly had the same meaning as an auspicious symbol as had the joined trees or the linked plants, being a very rare phenomenon.

The golden hair-ornament represents an ancient Chinese form of jewelry called a *shêng*, which was apparently worn by the ladies of the court in the early centuries of our era.⁵⁵ It consisted of two gold circlets connected by a slender bar which served like the axle for a pair of wheels. Presumably the latter passed through the elaborate bun of the court hair-dressing, securing a circlet on each side.⁵⁶ In any case, the use of the gold *shêng* as a marriage symbol is obvious, since the two jewels fastened together suggest mates linked in wedlock.

From a Confucian point of view, however, we have in the golden *shêng* a definite auspicious symbol and not a mere ornament. For, as one of the objects of happy augury, it represents a miraculous jewel which is discovered in the ground under very special conditions. Specifically, "When an age has no robbers nor violent men, then the golden *shêng* will reveal itself."⁵⁷

This symbol has served as the prototype for a symbol of wealth in one of the groups known as the *pa-pao* or Eight Precious Things, very popular in the Late Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties. There it is shown as a pair of gold circlets (usually interlocking), to balance a pair of gold rectangles known as the square *shêng* (*fang shêng*); but the connecting rods are omitted and the original use entirely forgotten.

At first glance the golden *shêng*'s opposite symbol on the mirror seems to have less relationship to it than do the opposing symbols in the other five groups. However, they have a definite literary connection as expressed in the

inscriptions, since jade is usually linked with gold in classical references to happiness through wealth. Moreover, the expression "united jade-discs" calls to mind two circles related to the twin circlets of gold on the *shêng*. Actually, however, the expression does not refer to jewels at all. A passage in the *Sung Shu*, listing a series of auspicious omens that manifested themselves in a previous golden age, speaks of the Sun and Moon in conjunction "like united discs of jade."⁵⁸ This idea is obviously intended here, for in the center of the raised circle stands the traditional sun-bird, a three-legged cock, while the moon is indicated as a superimposed crescent.

The author of the *Sung Shu* does not cite any Confucian aphorism to explain this phenomenon, but on a later page he recalls that the Sun and the Moon are the very essence of the *Yang* and *Yin*, respectively;⁵⁹ therefore the two in conjunction are the ultimate symbols of man and wife in wedlock.

We have devoted so much space to this group of symbols because from the point of view of the art historian or the student of Chinese culture they are the most important on the mirror. Most of the twelve have hitherto been known to us only as classical metaphors in T'ang poems, where their meaning was not always clear. Only two of them, the phoenix and the golden *shêng*, have survived into recent Chinese art, the latter being almost unrecognizable. The rest of them are seldom if ever seen in later productions, though two others, the "birds of the same mind" and the "fish with mutual eyes," seem to have served as prototypes for other marriage symbols. Already archaic in the T'ang, the twelve throw light on the little-known symbolism of an earlier period, from which all too few treasures (other than Buddhist) have weathered the storms of China's violent past. Furthermore, the story of their evolution illustrates the process by which stultifying Confucian ideals were ascribed to older legendary plant and animal symbols, giving them new didactic meanings which pleased the scholars but no doubt caused the symbols themselves to lose their popular appeal, providing a strong reason for their eventual disappearance. At the same time this mirror shows how a man of genius, by taking some of them and combining them in special associations, could cause them to lose their Confucian veneer and manage to make them function once again as living symbols, with possibly the very meanings for which they were originally intended. No doubt the Confucians of that day would have deplored this as a sacrilege, if they realized what had been done at all; but the contemporary Taoists, like us today, must have been happy at this fresh application of old symbols in a fundamentally clearer and more basic meaning.

Now let us consider these twelve in connection with the pattern as a whole, and consider the place of all the symbols in the overall plan. First we had the idea of Polarity in the Universe expressed in the dragon and the tortoise as representatives of the male and female principles, *Yang* and *Yin*, between which all elements are divided. Then we had the idea of Duality expressed in the paired *Yang* and paired *Yin* symbolic animals, the corresponding pairs of (paired) auspicious symbols on the opposite sides of the inner ring, and in the paired animals of the zodiac. Finally we have the idea of Unity in Duality, expressed in all the individual symbols of the inner ring, which thus—symbolically as well as by their location—bind the whole pattern together, giving it ultimate unity. On contemplation of this final integration we are led to think of the *Yang* dragon and the *Yin* tortoise as sharers of the Universe rather than dividers of it, therefore symbols of man and woman, husband and wife, as sharers of their domestic universe.

Up to this point we have considered the twelve paired symbols, and the design as a whole, solely as emblems of physical marriage, appropriate to a wedding mirror. However, to some men of the T'ang they would have had a more metaphysical meaning. Though the T'ang court during the K'ai-yüan period was notoriously pleasure-loving and preoccupied with gratification of the senses, there was simultaneously a pronounced interest in religion. The Emperor himself was primarily interested in Taoism at this time, but in his capital at Ch'ang An (modern Sian), many Buddhist monasteries flourished under court patronage, boasting distinguished teachers from India⁶⁰ as well as famous local monks. To anyone of the more spiritually-inclined members of the latter faith who looked at this mirror—and even to a more mystical-minded Taoist—the pattern it portrays would have suggested marriage on another plane. The whole scheme of an ordered, balanced world, centering on Mt. Meru, would have been for him a symbol of the Universal harmony; and the specific symbols of marital unity would have meant to him the unity of flesh and spirit, and the union of the soul with the Infinite.

Only one element remains unaccounted for. This is the inscription accompanying the animals in the outer ring of the design. Referring to the symbols of the mirror collectively it says (literally): "Birds, beasts and fish, bamboos, plants and trees, united jade-discs and golden ornament all join together to give forth auspicious Pictures"⁶¹ (hence the name given to this mirror by the old antiquarians). This suggests that the mirror may originally have been one

of those marvellous achievements of earlier Chinese craftsmanship known to modern Occidental connoisseurs and collectors as "magic mirrors."⁶² These were cleverly made—apparently first accidentally and later on purpose—so that their faces would reflect on a blank wall or screen the figures shown in relief on their backs, even though the reflecting surface appeared smooth to the naked eye.⁶³ This mirror is now rather corroded, however, and its present owner's attempts to make it function as a "magic mirror" have not been successful.

Very possibly this never was a "magic mirror" in the physical sense, in which case the inscription would have to be taken less literally. As such it could have had either a Confucian or a Taoist interpretation; though in view of the maker's occasional liberties with the traditional symbols, we suspect that he was a Taoist and would have had in mind the latter one.

As we have seen in reading their orthodox explanations of the auspicious symbols, the Confucians taught that when the State is in harmonious order, with a virtuous (i.e. wise and just) ruler and submissive but contented subjects, these things of happy augury—or auspicious apparitions of them—would spontaneously appear. As an expression of this philosophy, the inscription on the mirror would mean that, if its owners patterned their lives after the harmonious scheme depicted on the back of the mirror, when that harmony was attained by the individuals, the family, and the State (the macrocosm of the family), then the objects of good omen would automatically manifest themselves, as predicted in the classics. Reading the inscription again from a Taoist, and even less literal, point of view, it could mean that this mirror would magically help to generate for its owners the lucky symbols, as well as the qualities of interdependence and mutual affection expressed in them here, bringing harmony to their universe and marital bliss.

In conclusion, we have seen that the Seattle Art Museum's rare T'ang mirror—which may possibly have been the one that once belonged in the palace collection of the Emperor of China—was apparently a "marriage mirror," made for a wedding or betrothal present, to be used later in part of the ceremony. As such it was figured with a splendid example of the Universe in microcosm in the semi-naturalistic style of the T'ang period, together with a series of ancient auspicious symbols, chosen primarily to express the idea of marital unity, so that the whole design forms a beautifully integrated expression of the medieval Chinese philosophy of harmonious marriage, whether physical marriage or the marriage of the soul with the Infinite.

¹ The author is grateful to Dr. Fuller and Miss Emily Tupper of the Seattle Art Museum for permitting the publication of this mirror and for furnishing the splendid photographs of it; he also wishes to thank Mr. Stubbs and Mrs. Bertha Usilton of the Freer Gallery for their respective help in taking the other photographs and in locating references.

² Written by Sung Ying-hsing in 1637; passage quoted from ch. 8, 4b.

³ Dr. Hirth translated this passage as reproduced in the *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng* (*k'ao-kung tien* (32), 226.33), and apparently accepted the statement as a scientific fact. F. Hirth, "Chinese Metallic Mirrors," *Boas Anniversary Volume*, Anthropological Papers, New York, 1906, p. 218.

⁴ The use of silver and other unusual metals for bronze alloys was necessitated at this period by the great scarcity of copper, due to excessive private minting of copper coins. This became so serious that in 722 the Emperor was obliged to declare a Government monopoly on the manufacture of copper goods, and the use of this metal was strictly limited until the national supply was replenished.

⁵ As Hirth pointed out, the prefix "Hsüan-ho" (often omitted in references) has nothing to do with the period of this name (1119-1126), but refers to the Hsüan-ho Palace in which the collection was stored. F. Hirth, "Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Chinesischen Literatur," *TP*, 1st series, VII (1896), 480.

⁶ *T'ang jui-t'u chien*, *op. cit.*, 30.9b. The *T'u-shu chi-ch'êng*, in reprinting the *Po-hu t'u lu*, reproduces this picture with its usual disregard for details, omitting the characters accompanying the symbols of the middle register. *TSCC* (32) 226.16.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 30.12. Its diameter is given as 6 *tsun* 5 *fên*, or six and a half Chinese inches. The Chinese foot contains only ten inches, and in the Sung its average length was equivalent to about 12 English inches, though rulers measuring 12½ English inches have been excavated from Sung sites (see Wang Kuo-wei, "Chinese Foot-measures of the Past Nineteen Centuries," translated by A. W. Hummel and Fung Yu-lan, *JRAS*, N. China Branch, Shanghai, 1928, LIX, 115, 122, note c). If a ruler measuring approximately 12 English inches was used, 6½ Chinese inches would equal 7⅞ English inches, which is not far from 20.3 centimetres, the diameter of the Seattle mirror on its upper side (it is slightly convex). The weight is given as 2 *chin* 3 *liang*, or 2 lbs. 3 oz., Chinese measure. This is less easy to calculate, as the Chinese pound has varied so much from period to period and from place to place within any given period. It has usually been about five ounces over an English pound, however, and on that basis it would closely approximate the 2 lbs. 14 oz. (English measure) of the Seattle mirror.

⁸ Stone section, ch. 8 (no pagination). This was written by the Fêng brothers, Fêng Yün-p'êng and Fêng Yün-yüan, who called the mirror *T'ang ch'u jui-t'u ching* or "the T'ang mirror which gives forth auspicious pictures" (another allusion to the outer inscription). The mirror as pictured here was briefly described by Chavannes, who was interested in it primarily as a T'ang example which had the twelve animals of the zodiac, but attempted—most unsuccessfully—to explain some of the other symbols in passing (see note 35). E. Chavannes, "le Cycle Turc des Douze Animaux," *TP*, 2nd series, VII (1906), 108-110 (the cut from the *Chin shih so* is reproduced in Fig. 8 of that article).

⁹ The diameter is quoted as 1 foot 5¼ inches, Han measure, which would correspond to approximately 16½ of our inches; and the weight as 12 Chinese lbs.

¹⁰ *Ho shu lien* (meaningless), instead of *ho-buan lien* (another *lien*), meaning "lotuses joined in delight." To confuse the question still more, the Fêng brothers thought it should read *ho-buan kuo*, apparently a kind of fruit; and their commentary threw Chavannes still further off the track.

¹¹ See R. L. Hobson, *Handbook of the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East*, London, 1937, p. 6, Fig. 9. The Chinese antiquarians call these censers *Po-shan lu*.

¹² Compare this with the similar boss on the contemporary T'ang Universe mirror now in the Shōsōin, Nara; pictured in Otto Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans*, Berlin, 1928, p. 414.

¹³ The *Shên i ching* (Han Wei ts'ung-shu ed.), p. 13, a Han treatise on the wonders of the world, said to date from the 2nd century B.C., divides the Earth into nine regions based on the eight directions and the center, describing K'un-lun Shan in the last section devoted to the central region. If authentic, this would mean that the idea of K'un-lun Shan as the world axis was already very old by T'ang times.

¹⁴ To quote the sinologist Saussure, "Le principe fondamental de la cosmologie (et pourrait on dire, de la civilisation chinoise) est le concept du centre entouré de quatre régions périphériques." L. de Saussure, "le Cycle des Douze Animaux," *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., XV (1920), 58, note 1.

¹⁵ That the four outer peaks and the four land masses were intended to extend in the four cardinal directions is indicated by the zodiacal animals in the outer border of the mirror, for—as we shall see—the latter are used to designate the points of the Chinese compass, the rat indicating the North and the horse the South, etc. (note that in conformance with the old Chinese convention for maps and astrological charts, etc., the South is at the top in the illustrations of the mirror, Figs. 1 and 2). Moreover, the horizontal, East-West axis, as indicated by the hare and cock respectively, corresponds to the hole made in the boss for the mirror cord, and this cord was always passed through the boss horizontally before being braided to form the handle by which the mirror would be held.

¹⁶ Published by Umehara in *Obei ni okeru Shina kokyō*, Tokyo, 1931, pl. 19, Fig. 2.

¹⁷ The Ts were apparently first added to the older square-in-circle cosmic pattern in the Early Han, on the later Huai Valley mirrors of Karlgren's F-style. (These mirrors were always assumed to date from the Late Chou until he proved their Han origin.) See B. Karlgren, "Huai and Han," *BMFEA*, XIII (1941), 15-18. The exact meaning of the Ts and the L and V angles that later accompanied them, giving the fully developed Han mirrors of this type their popular name of TLV mirrors, has still never been conclusively explained, but Yetts, in his brilliant analysis of one of the most elaborately developed mirrors of this type, relates them to marks on the ancient Chinese sun dial (W. P. Yetts, *The Cull Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1931, pp. 148-65); and Karlbek likewise believes that they were borrowed from the Han sun dial to serve as ornamental details

and to symbolize whatever function they served on the dial. See O. Karlbeck, *Catalogue of the Collection of Chinese and Korean Bronzes at Hovvyl House*, Stockholm, 1938, pp. 27-30. The connection between the over-all design on the TLV mirrors and the ancient Indian and Central Asian stupa-plan (as at Sanchi), and the relation between the Ts on the Han mirrors and those which figure on the Lama Buddhist mandalas, have yet to be discussed; but no doubt such researches will provide other theories far removed from sun dials.

¹⁸ The other two are the Scarlet Bird and the White Tiger.

¹⁹ W. P. Yetts, *Catalogue of the Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1930, II, 36, for a thorough discussion of the dualistic theory of the Yin and Yang and a full explanation of the tortoise as a perfect expression of the Yin element.

²⁰ As explained by Hsü Shên, quoted in the *Shuo-wên chieh-tzu ku lin*, edited by Ting Fu-pao, 1931 ed., 11 B. 5259b.

²¹ Forty years ago Chavannes (*op. cit.*) tried to prove that the use of the twelve animals as symbols of the zodiac—found with but few variations from the Near East to Cambodia—had been invented by a Turko-Mongol tribe on China's Northwestern border, and was a foreign borrowing in China, never properly assimilated by the Chinese. In 1920, however, Saussure (*op. cit.*) conclusively demonstrated that the group was originally developed in China, using purely Chinese symbolic animals brought together in accordance with native Chinese concepts.

²² The first dated twelve-animal mirror known has a date equivalent to 622 A.D. (*Po-hu t'u lu*, 29.15), but examples of an earlier style are known and have been ascribed to the Six Dynasties Period or the Sui (see Umebara's *Shina kodô seikwa*, Osaka, 1933, part 2, vol. II, pls. 113, 114; and Liang Shang-ch'un, *Yen-hu-tsang ching*, part 2, Peking, 1941, pls. 85, 86, pp. 67, 68).

²³ Sometimes the animals and the characters are both used on the same mirror. For an example see M. Rupert and O. J. Todd, *Chinese Bronze Mirrors*, Peking, 1935, pl. 14, no. 98.

²⁴ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 69, says that the *Wei shu*, written in the sixth century but composed of documents dating from the Northern Wei (386-535 A.D.) mentions the animals as used in divination.

²⁵ For the ultimate development of these beliefs see Henri Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, part 1, I, 35.

²⁶ J. M. de Groot, *Religious Systems of China*, London, 1910, VI, 1001.

²⁷ The only other instance known to the author was on a small bronze mirror, about two inches in diameter, said to have been used as a wedding amulet, seen in a curio shop in Sian, West China, in August, 1945.

²⁸ These mirrors depict the legendary "Queen Mother of the West" and her still more mythical consort, at the top and bottom of the central field of the design, with a supernatural creature, or creatures, on each side (usually the dragon and tiger, representing East and West, and Yang and Yin) to balance the composition in both physical and philosophical senses.

²⁹ These accessory symbols were always carefully arranged to create a balance, conforming to the balance expressed in the paired birds. Sometimes the balance was a purely physical one, achieved by repeating the same symbol, such as a lotus (see R. W. Swallow's *Ancient Chinese Bronze Mirrors*, Peking, 1937, Fig. 556). More often it was a balance of ideas, expressed in symbols of the Yang and Yin. For example, in the mirror shown in Fig. 5, the ascendant dragon at the bottom represents the active Yang, while the moon above, with its hare and mortar under the cassia tree (which the Chinese claim to see instead of our "man in the moon") represents the passive Yin. The latter arrangement of balance by ideas, accords better with the use of the two birds as symbols of bridegroom and bride, husband and wife, and gives such a mirror two axes with philosophic poles (as opposed to the positive axis and the negative axis in the central field of the Seattle mirror).

³⁰ This was written by Shên yo, who discusses the symbols in the "Auspicious influences" section of the book, *fu-jui chib*, chs. 27-29.

³¹ For a full description of the Wu family shrines, with their historical background and an able reconstruction of the original placing of the stones, see Wilma Fairbank, "The Offering Shrines of Wu Liang Tzu," *HJAS*, vol. VI, no. 1, March, 1941. The original two roof slabs were rediscovered, along with other stones from the shrines, by Huang I, in 1786.

³² The pictures with their inscriptions were reconstructed in rather inaccurate woodcuts and published by the Fêng brothers in their *Chin shih so* (stone section, vol. IV, no pagination). Chavannes later published them with illustrations of the actual rubbings from the stones in his book *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine aux temps des deux Dynasties Han* (hereafter referred to as *Sculpture*), Paris, 1893, pp. 31-38, pls. 6 a, b, c. He included as well the rubbing of a third slab (pl. 7), expressing surprise that it had never been mentioned in any of the Chinese works on the site. However, a modern Chinese scholar, who recently rediscussed the auspicious symbols' inscriptions in detail (Jung Kêng, *Han Wu Liang Tzu hua-hsiang lu*, Peking, 1936, pp. 33-37, states that this third slab—which is probably from the nearby shrine of another member of the Wu family—was only discovered in the Tung-chih period (1862-74), thus accounting for the fact that the Fêng brothers and other earlier archaeologists were unaware of its existence (*op. cit.*, 36b).

³³ Numbers 4, 6 and 10, and probably 11 in the text below. Still others of the mirror symbols may originally have been carved on the slabs, but it is now impossible to make out any of the rest.

³⁴ These Later Han explanatory inscriptions sound like classical literary phrases and were undoubtedly as traditional by the 2nd century A.D. as the other elements that make up the decoration on Wu Liang's famous shrine, or they would not have been carved there. No doubt they had been published long before in a book (or books) since lost, from which the writers of the Six Dynasties Period, such as Shên Yo and Sun Jou, the author of the *Jui-ying t'u* (written in the Liang Dynasty, early 6th century), merely parroted them.

³⁵ The author of the *Po-hu t'u lu* saw these symbols only as expressions of Confucian philosophy; for in his introduction to the section on mirrors (*op. cit.*, 28.6) in discussing motives on the mirrors, he speaks of

them collectively as "the rare things of a prosperous age," meaning the things which miraculously appear when the ruler governs properly and the state is in harmony—an orthodox Confucian explanation. Similarly, the Confucian explanations of the symbols were the only ones cited by Chavannes in his attempts to explain the symbols on the second mirror of this type (see note 8). Some of the twelve symbols he obviously did not understand at all, and he failed to see their interrelation, thus completely missing the significance of the inner band as a unit and the deeper import of the mirror design as a whole. In view of this, we feel free to cover the ground again.

²⁸ The recently revived question of whether or not the Chinese phoenix was patterned after an actual bird, the argus pheasant, has been further confused in the new, clumsily-edited *Encyclopaedia of the Arts* (New York, 1946). In this, the present writer's article "Symbolism in Far Eastern Art" (p. 980) explains that the feng-huang was patterned after a number of birds, but the definition of feng-huang given elsewhere (p. 315) says that it is the argus pheasant, and refers the reader to a long since discredited article on the subject. For a full statement of the facts see S. Cammann, "Development of the Mandarin Square," *HJAS*, VIII, no. 2 (August, 1944), 103-4, note 92.

²⁹ Listed among its other attributes in *Sung Shu*, 28.2.

³⁰ See the *Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu*, *Tu shih yin-tê*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Series, supp. no. 14, Peking, 1940, II, 93, notes on the "Phoenix Terrace," *Feng-huang T'ai*.

³¹ The word *chia* can mean "good," "excellent," "auspicious," and "marital" (or as a noun "marriage"), and no doubt all of these meanings were intended to be recognized, both here and in the actual phrases on the mirror in which it occurs.

³² *Shan hai ching* (Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.), nan-shan ching, 9b.

³³ *Sung Shu*, 27.2b. The same book has a much longer and more explicit reference to the coming of the phoenix (28.2b) which says: "When the Prince's Way is followed, and the five notes of the musical scale are perfected, and the nine virtues are complete, and the literary and military (impulses) are balanced, the State will therefore obtain the omens of the phoenix. First it will pass through; secondly it will wheel in the air overhead; thirdly (several) will flock together; fourthly, they will live there for a season; and fifthly, they will live there until death."

³⁴ Swallow calls them "phoenixes" (*op. cit.*, Fig. 549), a term he applies to practically all birds on Tang mirrors regardless of their species.

³⁵ *Jui-ying fu* (reprinted in *Yü-han-shan kang chi-i shu*, p. 22. The explanation in the *Sung Shu* (29.40b) sounds badly garbled).

³⁶ See note 39.

³⁷ *Sung Shu*, 29.1.

³⁸ Occurrences of both as auspicious omens are mentioned in the *Sung Shu*, 29.8b, 9. Chavannes says of the melon symbol ("Cycle Turc," p. 109) "dans le cas de la courge le miracle provient non de ce qu'il y a un fruit pour deux tiges, mais de ce qu'il a plusieurs fruits par une seule tige," and gives a blind reference to the *Sung Shu*. We have been unable to locate any reference in the latter to bear out this statement, as the instances mentioned there clearly speak of two stalks joining to produce one fruit. He must have been misled by the very poor illustration in the *Chin shih so*, as the symbol on this mirror clearly shows one melon coming from two stalks.

³⁹ *Sung Shu*, 29.10b, 11.

⁴⁰ Most of the old Chinese writers described these birds as being red and black in color, but some of them state more explicitly that one of the pair was red, the other black (emphasizing the Yang-Yin character of the relationship). See the *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, *ch'in-ch'ung tien* (19), 53.9b. The earliest reference to these birds is in the ancient *Shan hai ching* (Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.), 2.19b, 20.

⁴¹ *T'u-shu chi-ch'eng*, *ch'in-ch'ung tien* (19), 146.2b ff., has numerous references to these fish from Chinese classical literature.

⁴² Chavannes completely failed to understand these symbols on the Wu Liang Tz'u slabs, speaking of "l'oiseau" and "le poisson" (*Sculpture*, pp. 35, 36); but in describing them several years later, as they occurred on the *Chin shih so* mirror, he used the plural ("Cycle Turc," pp. 108, 109).

⁴³ Chavannes, *Sculpture*, p. 35 (retranslated); *Sung Shu*, 28.21b, same.

⁴⁴ Our translation, from the rubbing inscription on pl. 7 of *Sculpture*. (The *Sung Shu* (29.36) expresses the same idea in different words.) This is the inscription on the third slab, since that on the second is so badly damaged that one can only conjecture what it once said. In transcribing this, Chavannes miswrites one character and mistranslates the whole sentence (p. 38).

⁴⁵ From *Sung Shu*, 29.2b, since some of the characters are indistinct in the original, quoted by Chavannes (*Sculpture*, p. 34). Chavannes, in interpreting its occurrence at Wu Liang Tz'u, speaks of "l'arbre lien-li," as though it were a single tree of a particular species. However the *Sung Shu*, ch. 29, shows that the expression means two or more trees of one or more species that have joined together; mentioning joined pear trees (p. 32), joined plum trees (*ibid.*), joined orange trees (34b), joined oaks (32, 33)—in one case two different species of oak (30)—three trees, of which two are difficult to identify (31b), and finally coral-trees (35b) which "joined and produced a thick forest!"

⁴⁶ Reproduced by a woodcut in the *Fang-shih mo-p'u* of 1588, which in turn has been borrowed to illustrate H. A. Giles, *History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, London, 1918, p. 192.

⁴⁷ They were apparently still being worn in the Tang, for a winter poem by Tu Fu speaks of the *shêng*, and a commentary explains that there were seven types, of which the *chin shêng* was one. Harvard-Yenching *Concordance*, II, 521.

⁴⁸ Probably the connecting rod was made in two pieces, one of which fitted into the other like the two parts of the *mekugi* rivet in hilts of old Japanese swords, but we have been unable to find a description of their

actual construction.

¹⁷ *Sung Shu*, 29.27b. It is probable that this symbol also occurred at Wu Liang Tz'u, because the rubbings show a piece of jewelry of the same shape, but as the inscription has been destroyed except for the name which has been interpreted as *yü shêng*, the jade *shêng*, we cannot be sure. In view of the damage to this slab, it would seem likely that it once said *chin shêng*, but that the top of the first character was mutilated so that it now resembles the word for jade instead of that for gold. See Chavannes, *Sculpture*, p. 38.

¹⁸ *Sung Shu*, 27.3b.

¹⁹ *Sung Shu*, 27.24b.

²⁰ See Chou I-liang's brilliant article on Indian missionaries who came to China, "Tantrism in China," *HJAS*, VIII, nos. 3 and 4 (March, 1945), 241-332.

²¹ This was mistranslated by Chavannes in his description of the *Chin shih so* mirror as follows: "Tableau de l'apparition simultanée des gages de bon augure consistant en oiseaux, quadrupèdes, poissons, bambous, herbes, arbres, désignes réunis, ornements de tête en or." ("Cycle Turc," p. 110.) This not only does violence to the grammar but fails to recognize the fact that *jui-s'u* is a familiar compound expression. For example Tu Fu's poem on the Phoenix Terrace speaks of these birds "flying down from Heaven with auspicious pictures (*jui-s'u*) in their beaks," *Harvard-Yenching Concordance*, II, 94.

²² A considerable literature on the subject of Chinese and Japanese magic mirrors has grown up in the Occident ever since the phenomenon was discovered by Sir D. Brewster in the early part of the last century and reported in the *Philosophical Magazine* (vol. I, London, 1832). For the older bibliography see Hirth, "Chinese Metallic Mirrors," pp. 211-2. See also Swallow, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Rupert and Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-61, and O. Siren, *A History of Early Chinese Art*, the Han Period, p. 47.

²³ Hirth speaks of a remarkable example demonstrated by Dr. Milchner before the Berlin Anthropological Society in 1898, which had on its back an invocation to the Buddha Amitabha, but reflected on the wall a picture of the Buddha himself surrounded by an aureole. (Mirrors of this "ultra-magic" type are necessarily quite thick, however, because they must be made of two separate pieces of metal and later joined.) Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

List of the Chinese and Japanese Books and Authors—with characters.

- ¹ *Chin shih so* 金石索, by Fêng Yün-p'êng 馮雲鵬 and Fêng Yün-yüan 馮雲鵠.
- ² *Fang-shih mo-p'u* 方氏墨譜, compiled by Fang Yü-lu 方于魯.
- ³ *Han Wu Liang Tz'u hua-hsiang lu* 漢武梁祠畫象錄, by Jung Kêng 容庚.
- ⁴ *Hsi-ch'ing ku chien* 西清古鑑, by Liang Shih-chêng and others 梁時正等.
- ⁵ *Hsüan-ho po-ku t'u lu* 宣和博古圖錄, by Wang Fu 王黼.
- ⁶ *Jui-ying t'u* 瑞應圖, by Sun Jou 孫柔. (reprinted in *Yu-han-shan fang chi-i shu* 玉函山房輯佚書).
- ⁷ *Po-ku t'u lu* (see *Hsüan-ho Po-ku t'u lu*).
- ⁸ *Shan hai ching* 山海經, edited by Kuo Po 郭璞 (*Szû-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed. 四部叢刊).
- ⁹ *Shên i ching* 神異經, by Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 (*Han Wei ts'ung-shu* ed. 漢魏叢書).
- ¹⁰ *Shuo-wên chieh-tz'u ku lin* 說文解字詁林, edited by Ting Fu-pao 丁福保.
- ¹¹ *Sung Shu* 宋書, by Shên Yo 沈約, *Fu-jui chih* 符瑞志.
- ¹² *T'ien-kung k'ai wu* 天工開物, by Sung Ying-hsing 宋應星.
- ¹³ *Tu shih yin-tê* 杜詩引得 (Harvard-Yenching Index Series no. 14).
- ¹⁴ *Tu-shu chi-ch'êng* 圖書集成, *k'ao-kung-tien* 考工典; *ch'in-ch'ung tien* 禽蟲典.
- ¹⁵ *Yen-ku tsang ching* 嚴窩藏鏡, by Liang Shang-ch'un 梁上椿.
- ¹⁶ *Obei ni okeru Shina kokyô* 歌米に於ける支那古鏡, by Umehara Sueji 梅原末治.
- ¹⁷ *Shina kodo seikwa* 支那古銅精華, by Umehara Sueji.

Characters for other Oriental Words and Names Cited in the Notes.

- Note 5. *Hsüan-ho Tien* (Palace) 宣和殿
 " 6. *Tang jui-t'u chien* 唐瑞圖鑑
 " 8. *Tang ch'u jui-t'u ching* 唐出瑞圖鏡
 " 10. *ho shu lien* 合樹連
 ho-huan lien 合懽蓮
 ho-huan kuo 合懽果
 " 20. *Hsü Shên* 許慎
 " 24. *Wei Shu* 魏書

- Note 31. *Huang I* 黃易
 " 38. *chia-jui* 嘉瑞
 Fêng-huang Tai 鳳凰臺
 " 39. *chia* 嘉
 " 55. *shêng* 勝
 " 56. *mekugi* 目釘
 " 57. *yü shêng* 玉勝, *chin shêng* 金勝
 " 61. *jui t'u* 瑞圖

THE TECHNOLOGICAL EYE

By JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES

ART in the twentieth century has had a way of anticipating science and technology. Wolfgang Paslen gave examples of this, in an article some years ago.¹ Landscapes of Paul Klee predicted, many years before, infra-red photography. Brancusi foretold streamlining, Arp recent camouflage, Kadinsky the effects of aerial war. And "when at last," wrote Paslen, "it became possible to photograph wind, the wind appeared with the face of Max Ernst's *Nageur Aveugle*."

Sometime at the beginning of the war in Europe, a painting by the Englishman John Tunnard was being criticized. There was a certain form, what might that represent? "I don't know," said the owner, not at all disturbed. "You'll see it in the next twenty years." But it was only some two years afterwards that the collector visited the painter in his Cornwall home. The first Radar installation on that coast was being erected then on Lizard Head, a few miles further on. Its shape was that of the form in question—painted when Radar was not yet produced. Not long afterwards another friend was visiting John Tunnard, but this time it was an engineer. Coming in and looking at a painting he exclaimed, "What're *you* doing with Swedish Slices, there?" Tunnard was blank. He had to be told the engineering term, which he had never heard, but which was shown with mathematical correctness in his painting.

These instances fit well enough into the general frame. There is no psychology of art as yet, nothing to say how reason and intuition come to the same point independently. But this time the correspondence interested the engineer. He was occupied with a project of river regulation, could Tunnard somehow give to his specific calculations plastic Form? The painter was not sure, but he hung the blue prints in his studio, not studying them and accepting little explanation. After some months he took them down again. Later he produced a painting. It was a characteristic painting of his own; but in it were the main features of the calculus, also correct mathematically. Woven in with these were vignettes of the Fens of Lincolnshire, where the project itself was taking place and where Tunnard was born. Each part of the painting had its visual references. The landscape showed its gray-brown coloring, soft atmosphere and long perspectives. The algebraic curves expressed their inner world symbolically, obliquely, in exact proportion and two-dimensional Form. Brought to a common focus, as it were, they extended the whole perception of reality.

Tunnard does insist that this canvas is exceptional. To begin by seeing an engineering problem is opposite to the normal thing for him. He must arrive at a solution "accidentally," on his general intuition. This case of the contrary is interesting, now, because it shows how much his feeling moves along the lines of new technology. Tunnard's forecasting is thus a part of something regular-intuition racing ahead of reason along a common line. For he has freed himself from what Eric Newton calls "the sentinel in the eye," who for each school of art excludes everything not then acceptable. And for most painters the "sentinel" keeps out that revolution of electrotechnics which is going on all around.

The freeing of his eye has taken Tunnard almost twenty years. It began in his student time, just after the last war. Without knowing it he was storing his subconscious with the images of the contemporary world. While others were drawing casts and studying museums, he was staring at manufactured things or technical appliances in the windows of the London stores. He was drawn to machinery as well—not only for its functioning. His need was for the visual and the intuitional, not for the rational qualities. At that time, just as it is now, he was attracted by "things fitting into each other," by every precision part down to the spindle of a sewing machine.

At the Royal College of Art Tunnard was the only student of his year to find industrial employment straight from school. The others' designs were drawn from the museums, while he belonged already to contemporary life. It is natural that he had been leader of the school jazz-band. At twenty-four, Tunnard was head designer for Tootals, one of the greatest textile firms in Britain. He had some more years of success in commerce before rather suddenly he gave up everything to paint.

Then there began the second stage of a gestation, going on without his knowing it in Tunnard's mind. He neither went to Bloomsbury nor to Montparnasse, in both of which they had the studio vision. But neither did he go to Weimar Germany, where they had been romantic over the machine. For his attraction to technology was just a part of an affinity to the whole sensual world. Bird watching and field naturalism are his hobbies. In Cornwall, all around the moor is crossed by power-lines, pegged out with pylons and towers for meteorology. And they do give a feel of standing space and measure to the table-land. The cliffs coated with various lichens and with flowers, in wartime carried searchlights and then later on the radiolocation. There are sixty-four varieties of gulls—and of airplanes almost as many. Some, though not all,



Fig. 1. JOHN TUNNARD, Focal Point (1943)



Fig. 2. JOHN TUNNARD, Painting (1934)

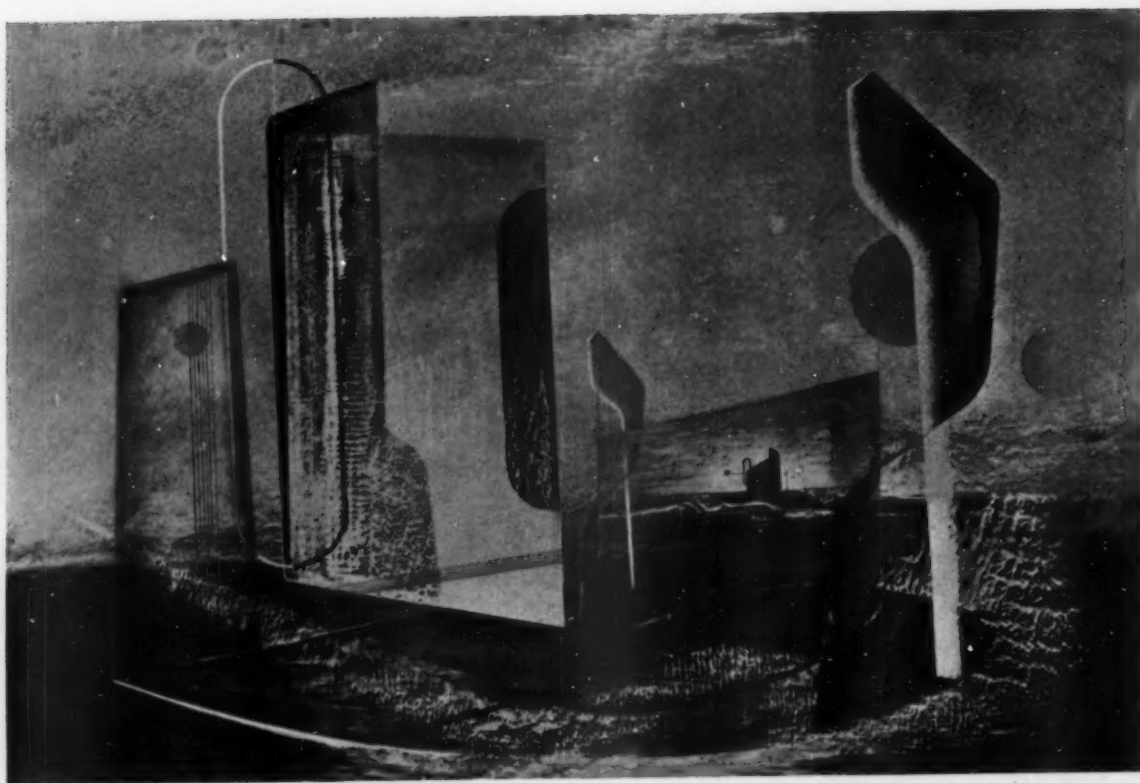


Fig. 3. JOHN TUNNARD, *Lunar Synthesis* (1943)

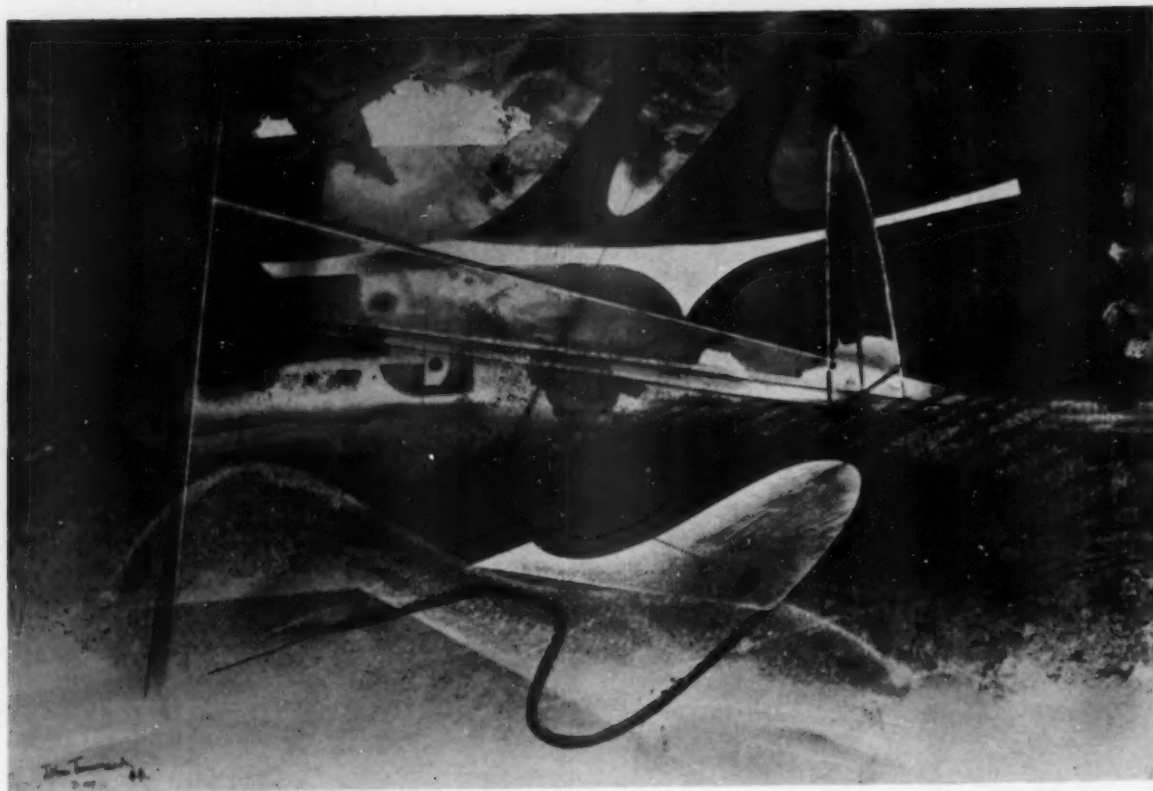


Fig. 4. JOHN TUNNARD, *Decision* (1944)

of this double character in the surroundings was present from the start. It gave the painter, clearly, a maquette, putting together what he had obtained. But in the meantime, while it came together, he made water colors of the Cornish farms. He was learning what he needed from the contemporary masters, too. Subjective landscapes like *Painting* (1934) (Fig. 2) show him as one who could absorb the influence of Klee. Abstractions from the birds and rocks around him have something of Cubism and something of Max Ernst. Non-objective ones are quite Constructivist in kind. And the final lesson, showing him his own expression, was clearly the Stringed Figurines of Moore. By the late 'thirties Tunnard's own vision had emerged, and just then hostilities began. From that time 'til the end, as an Auxiliary Coast Guard, Tunnard had his eyes upon the sea. He painted only in the intervals, with sleepless nights, often so tired that he could hardly see. In those circumstances, so it seems, the last obstacles of his consciousness gave way. Perceptions of nature, of technology and of the sea, fused at a deeper level of the mind, controlled by a rhythm with which jazz band conducting had to do, poured out on the paper and the canvases.

In Tunnard's painting now you always find the sense of aërials and power-lines, of radar and radio and other forms maybe of electrical transmission (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7). Translucent planes, volumes interpenetrating one another, the open lines and airborne quality, tension and equilibrium, are all an essence of modern steel construction (Figs. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8). There are the pure aerial vision, rather as it has been described by de Saint-Exupéry (Fig. 4); and the traveling of the camera eye (Fig. 7 for example). All these are pretty obvious. But with them there are subtler visions—light images on screens, precision instruments, strange optical devices, forms of motion, the lines of vibration or electrical discharge, transformations of material by lenses or by rays, all of which are harder to identify. Beyond these again we come to where Tunnard gave the engineering calculations plastic form. One senses algebraic curves, paths of pressure, of tension or of light; and the measurement of space as variable. Yet all is rooted in objective vision. In back of everything there are the sea and sky, minutiae of the earth and moving light and air. Only, what the painter gives is not so much the objects in themselves as the sense we have of them. He does not transcribe their appearances. Their qualities have passed through his unconscious and he sets them down with their subjective values, their emotional potential. So far as subject-matter is concerned, Tunnard escapes the studic vision, out into the actual world.

This has included, of course, the world at war. Although Tunnard has not been in "British War Art," it is he who has expressed the material of the war. In various paintings you can find the flame-forms of high explosive, structures in process of disintegration, the flier's world without mass or perspective (Fig. 4) or arabesques drawn on surface of the sea by ships of war. None of these things can be transcribed; and "war art" never got within a mile of them. The studio vision could deal only with camp trivia, leaving battle pieces to academicians.

So far we have been looking only at the painter's subject matter. His eye for technology has broken down some of the tabus of the "sentinel," widening the range of reference to the world of actual things. All this may be interesting or not, but as Roger Fry said long ago, in art the subject signifies only as it directs the Form. Again Tunnard is using some appearances of things, air for example and reflected light, which modern art has chosen to discard. It may be that now they can be used again in an oblique and abstract setting, but only if they do enrich the formal language or the visual poetry.

Sometimes a new color-form of Tunnard's is the metamorphosis of a common geometric one. In *Focal Point* (Fig. 1) the red sphere on a sky of Prussian blue is transformed altogether by its frame of lines; the displaced circles round it, based on color-points of black and white below. This kind of displacement would have been quite meaningless before. Now a new plastic equilibrium makes at the same time for associations, transmission and reception, focus and dispersion, which support the painting's overtones. Sometimes, on the other hand, the forms are really new ones in themselves. Some of them run through all the paintings, a sort of bobbin (Figs. 1, 5, 8), a trombone form of line (Fig. 3), a diabolio (Fig. 4), a grid (Fig. 7), a chessman-figure (Fig. 8), a hole-and-ball motive (Figs. 3, 5). Others are more occasional, as the rudder-like monumental elements of *Lunar Synthesis* (Fig. 3) and the red dart of *Oil* 79. These like the rest the painter himself cannot, and should not, identify, beyond saying "it's a contemporary form."

Still, Tunnard often can identify the general line and put it in his title as a guide. *Special Device* with its rectangles of white and yellow, its leaden ovoid balancing, gives those visual references to measurement, precision, equilibrium which the name implies. He contrasts this with a driftwood frame and a Moore-like sculptural form, reinforcing the material values almost violently. Out of these come a whole fresh set of plastic qualities, with associations ranging from the sensual to the mathematical. *Decision* (Fig. 4) is something which

only the Futurists have tried consistently: Movement Form. In blues and grays and whites, the colors of the sky, it gives a summary of airplane forms, fragmented, distorted and displaced by speed, speed either of the object or the eye. There are forms created by motion, which otherwise could not exist at all. Yet they are consistent with the speech of form—the tail-silhouette becomes “diabolo,” the markings are the hole-and-ball motive of other pictures. This clearly comes because the forms have been absorbed into the subconscious and digested there. But this raises still another side: Subjective Form.

The recurrence of these certain forms shows in them an obsessive quality. Their value as subjective symbols for the painter tends to assimilate the other forms to them. Such are the chessmen of *Gouache* and *Oil 78* (Fig. 8). They appear often—and always with a hypnotic quality. They are monumental and enigmatic, like the Totems of the far Northwest. Yet they still seem to derive from the vision of technology. Their ambiguity is that of a strange apparatus, for the shapes are mechanical and not organic. Occasional, non-recurring figures such as *Moa* (Fig. 6) do belong into another world. But one can trace here another artist's influence: Max Ernst, from whom the egg-embryo is taken; and the three linear devices are versions of the chessman Totem once again.

Besides the individual color-forms, Form must include the way the painting holds together. The first thing to be seen is Tunnard's building on the Cubist *passage*. Two surfaces transform each other from their point of crossing, as for example the dark-red and cadmium in *Lunar Synthesis*. Only, from the translucence of the surfaces, they interpenetrate. They pass behind and into one another, as in the middle part of *Trial* or the left side of *Decision*. Then the translucent screens grow to lenses or reflectors—as in *Focal Point* and *Moa*—with a different perspective of their own. So the picture-space becomes a variable, just as the other elements of composition. Of the pictures illustrated here, there are two perspectives in Figs. 5 and 7 and three in Figs. 3 and 6.

This series of developments leads to a principle of composition. In modern art the picture-space has varied, certainly. From Cubism at the one extreme, with elements advancing from the picture-plane, through the flatness of Mondrian and the myopic spacing of Matisse, to Chirico's perspective at the other. Masters like Klee and Picasso have used space differently at different times. But no one seems to have varied it within one composition. And yet the box-of-space conception is inadequate not only to the mathematician but to the contemporary experience of the eye. Nor does Tunnard use it only for his plastic

needs. Just as his forms, coming from outside, take on obsessive qualities in the subconscious mind, so the perspectives have an emotional and dramatic character. Tunnard brings the poetry of the irrational within the discipline of formal art. With insights from the new Technology, he fuses the Constructive and Surrealist ideas.

A composition in which the picture-space is variable must depend on rhythmic balancing. That is the only constant element, when masses, planes, bilateral symmetry have disappeared. The surprising thing is that Tunnard throws this equilibrium directly into paint. First, usually, there come the color areas. Next his hand swings, as though with a conductor's baton, until he is content with its direction. Then he draws in the line. Sometimes, as in *Trial* or *Moa*, the composition rotates on a pivot, like a Calder Mobile. Others, such as *Oil 78* or *Forecast*, depend on the interlocking of the elements. *Flower for 1945* (Fig. 7) and *Oil 79* in different ways combine the two. But they all rely on the profiles' correspondence or deflection, on crossing of edges, definition of forms, exact plotting of relationships. To this is added Line's independent role, as structure or tension or transmission. The paintings are as finely calibrated as precision instruments. For precision, the technician's quality, is a condition of plastic values here.

The third element in Tunnard's plastic language is his surface texture. Just as his composition, it has an ancestry in modern art. One sees it in the early *Painting*, coming from the influence of Klee. From built-up areas of browns and grays, out of the painted textures in themselves, there is a growth of spaces and of forms. These then the line acknowledges. What Tunnard has done is further to detach the textures as an element. These surfaces are an articulated membrane in themselves. They come up into rock-like mass and fall away in mist or as reflected light. Often, as in *Trial* or *Moa*, they weave doubtfully between the two. They are at once sensuously material and a mirage. This is something wholly new, and again its roots are in technology. The dry gleaming ground of *Flower* and *Forecast's* water surfaces; the lit and shadowed textures of *Oil 78*, and in *Oil 79* the strips like *collage* and the stuck-on patch of sky, all plainly have the character of photographic film. But it underlies the rest as well. For what else but film can be translucent yet carry images?

Once we realize it we can see that this surface was the condition for most of what the painter has done. Without it, interpenetration of the elements, his principle of composition, could not be. Without it he would have found it hard to discover a texture suitable to Movement Form. In *Decision* space and

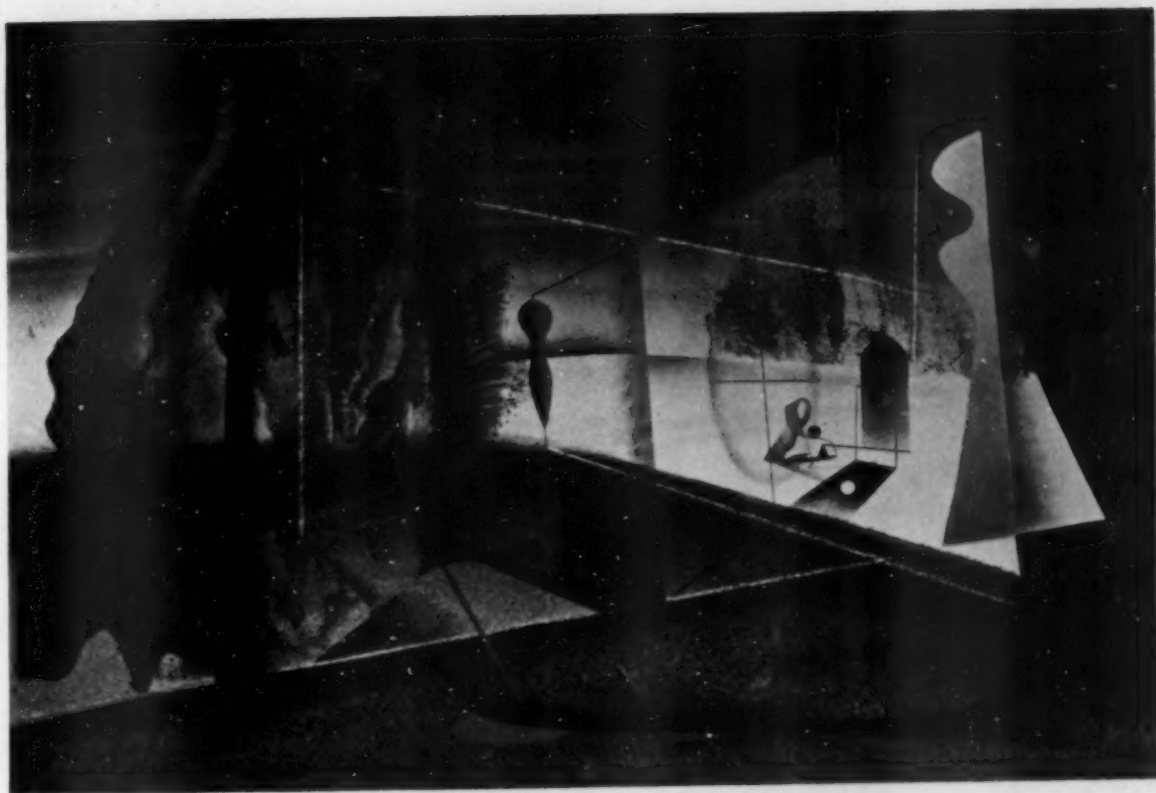


Fig. 5. JOHN TUNNARD, Trial (1944)

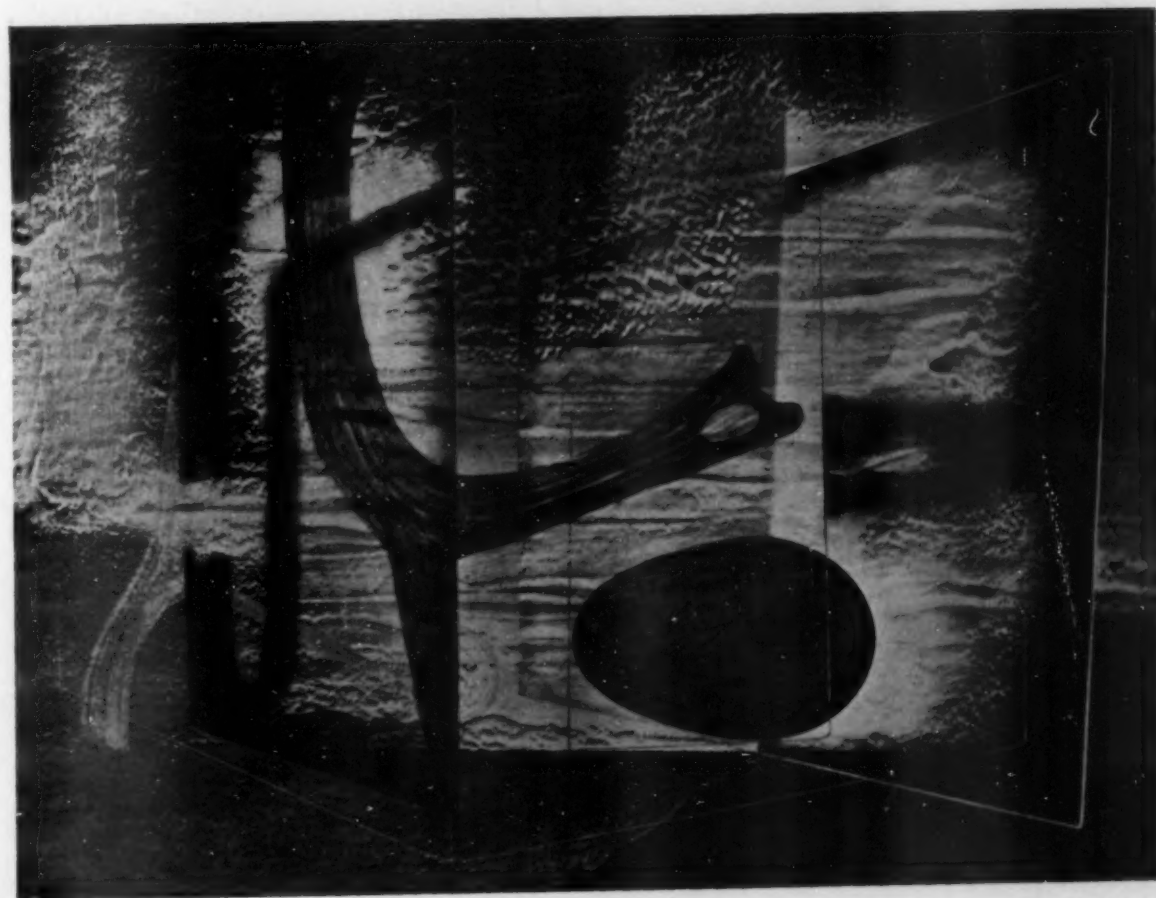


Fig. 6. JOHN TUNNARD, Moa (1943)



Fig. 7. JOHN TUNNARD, *Flower for 1945*

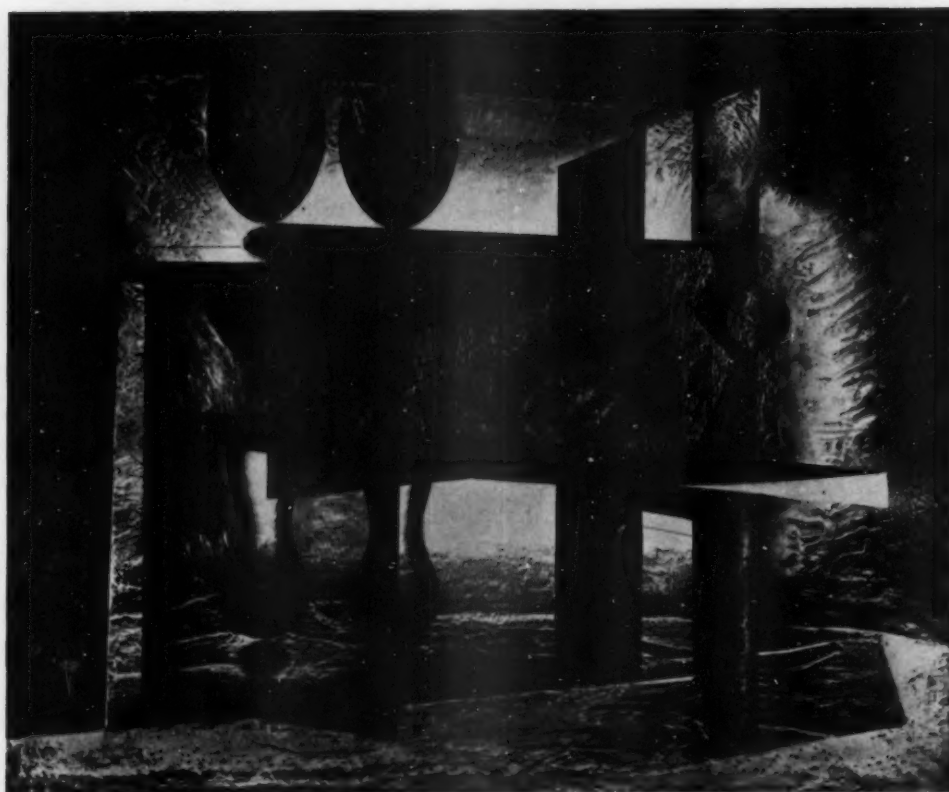


Fig. 8. JOHN TUNNARD, *Oil 78* (1943)

volume, earth and cloud are fused by the effect of speed, in a texture giving neither depth nor yet resistance to the eye. Finally, the Natural references are assimilated by its aid. For example, in *Trial*, *Focal Point* and *Lunar Synthesis* there is a patina-like texture in the foreground. It derives, actually, from the lichen on the cliffs near Tunnard's home. But by means of this filmic quality it is detached and plastically transformed. And so it is with every other texture of the paintings.

"Anything which represents air," declared Gertrude Stein, "is illustration and not art." And painting since Impressionism *has* avoided "atmosphere" while Cubism and Abstract Art abolished almost all effects of light as well. Tunnard not only brings back all these things; he makes into one of his chief instruments reflected light an effect which has been left to the academicians for a century. The result is *plein air* abstraction, an unknown thing in Europe and approached only by certain painters in the States, such as Marin, Dove and Weisenborn.

Forecast is perhaps the best example. Without reflected light the painter could not render sensuous either depth or surface of the sea. Without atmosphere the long beach perspective would become as airless as Tanguy. Without light penetration the curving lens would be invisible. In short, without this *plein airisme* its strong objective roots would be cut off. For as it is, the Moore-like sculpture form does gain the same vitality as Moore's own carvings do when placed outdoors. And the impact is the same on the forms, more technological, of *Flower* and *Special Device*. Mysterious as they are, they suddenly become a part of sensual life. Reflection is also a condition for the texture surfaces as refraction is of the transparent and translucent planes. Adrian Stokes has pointed out² that an effect of luminosity can only be obtained by the virtual blackout of a painting. That is so when tones are naturistically used, for then comparison with real contrasts of the light is challenged. But here light is not represented. It comes out as a plastic thing, equivalent to sense experience, just as are the spaces and the forms.

Another reason for this independence in his light is the quality of Tunnard's color. He never bases it on discords or strong complementaries. The different areas tend to have a chromatic element in common, which each awakens in the other. This gives intensity without the need of violent color. On the other hand he does not muffle it to keep "in tone," as English painters have tended to do from Sickert to Moynihan. For his contrasts are controlled by shifts of tone, in much the way that Stokes desiderates. For example the dark red-

purples on the left of *Trial* play against much lighter yellow in the bobbin-form. Or in *Focal Point* dark Indian-reds balance the delicate blue-grays. Again, with mixed tones the contrasts will bring out implicit values. Thus blues central to *Lunar Synthesis* evoke the yellow in its ground of gray. The result is that all these colors have what Mr. Stokes calls "Inner Light" as though illumination were behind. So, when there is an actual effect of light it is not from the outside, but always emerges from the color-zones.

Another consequence of what Stokes calls "all-over quality" is color relations balancing all through. Every part is playing against every other, without a break between the different areas. Thus background and foreground are unified, sections equally positive in a color continuum. And this again is the condition for that interpenetration which we saw before. Or rather, both are aspects of the same expression. Not that Tunnard avoids contrasts altogether. He uses a single note to set the composition quivering, the red ball in *Focal Point* on Prussian blue, in *Oil 79* the red dart set against the sky, or pinks at the center of *Gouache*, where otherwise blue-grays and blues would govern everything. But the climax of his method is his use of white. It becomes, what in Stokes' eyes it should always be, a color; and the most positive, since it contains all others. Sometimes it even dominates the composition, as the line and oval in *Gouache*, the form at the center of *Decision* and the horizontal slip across *Oil 78*. Strong and strategically placed, the whites draw to themselves all the colors of the painting.

In every tendency of art, perhaps, which brings something really new, there is a fresh conception of the color. And Tunnard is as different in this respect from the Constructivists—effective in proportion as they were cold—as he is from the Expressionists, whose color was a symbol of emotion. It would be clearest to describe his palette as *impersonal*. There is something at once detached and penetrating, objective and generalized, about these harmonies. Not that they have no subjective side. Color is necessarily the base of the irrational wherever it occurs. For example in the sardonically titled *Flower for 1945* a strange blue-red is dominant. In the dog-toothed form and a translucent central curve it shades almost to black. Then a lighter tone colors the background like a tinted photograph, and echoes in a fresh transparency. The other color prevalent is iron-gray, with touches of sky-blue and cadmium, greens warm and cold and a strong white at the bottom, making all the rest. The dominant is really an unstable balance between red and blue, to which the eye cannot adjust itself. This physiological effect creates unease, a sort of

suspense and repulsion, cold and yet dramatic. It goes with the sinister and spiky forms, the enigmatic ovals and the penetrations. The picture was painted months earlier than the atomic bomb; but the association here is plain. Through the technomorphic forms, from the silhouette but still more from the color, comes a clear connection with Japan. And the more the overtones take their effect, the more the painting seems to be soaked in blood. The cycle of prediction, what Paalen called "the prefigurative image," is complete.

¹ "The New Image," *DYN.*, 1 (April-May, 1942).

² Adrian Stokes, *Colour and Form*, London, 1937.

A BUST OF ST. URBAN BY TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER

By JUSTUS BIER

AFTER the publication of the article three years ago on the Bust of St. Burchard by Tilmann Riemenschneider,¹ meanwhile acquired by the National Gallery in Washington, D. C. as a gift of Samuel H. Kress,² our attention was called to another bust by Riemenschneider in the New York Art Market representing *St. Urban* (Fig. 1).³ St. Urban can be recognized in this half-length figure of a pope through a bunch of grapes he carries as his symbol on the book in his left hand. This lindenwood sculpture was formerly in the Eugen Schweitzer collection in Berlin, auctioned in 1918. The catalogue of this collection, edited by Georg Gronau and Max J. Friedländer, lists the bust as a work by Tilmann Riemenschneider.⁴ Otherwise this work has never appeared in literature, whereas a much inferior bust of *St. Urban* in the parish church at Randersacker near Würzburg (Fig. 3) has found some attention as a work of the school of Riemenschneider.⁵

The *St. Urban* from the Schweitzer collection (Fig. 1) as well as the *St. Urban* at Randersacker (Fig. 3) was created as a bust, whereas the aforementioned *St. Burchard* in the National Gallery was probably cut down from a damaged full-length figure to its present half-length size. In its present appearance it strikes us as being somewhat incomplete if compared with the *St. Urban* from the Schweitzer collection or, to mention a fully documented work, with the *St. Kilian* (Fig. 4) from the high altar of the Würzburg Cathedral.⁶ Yet an observer like Alfred M. Frankfurter, who discussed the bust in the *Art News*, formed just the contrary opinion.⁷ The question should not be left without a final answer. That the *St. Burchard* sculpture was not created as a bust is proved by the fact that it is not finished full round in head and body but flattened on the back and hollowed out, like the statues set against a pier or against the wooden wall in back of the boxlike space in the center of an altarpiece. It was customary to make busts full round because they were carried in processions.

Hollowing out the back will keep wood sculptures from cracking, which is the reason why this method was used wherever possible. Riemenschneider even hollowed out some of his busts. Yet to give these the appearance of full round sculptures, he closed the openings on the back with boards. The carving then could be done as if the busts were solid. Examples of this method are the aforementioned bust of *St. Kilian* and the accompanying busts of *St.*



*Fig. 1. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, St. Urban
New York Art Market*

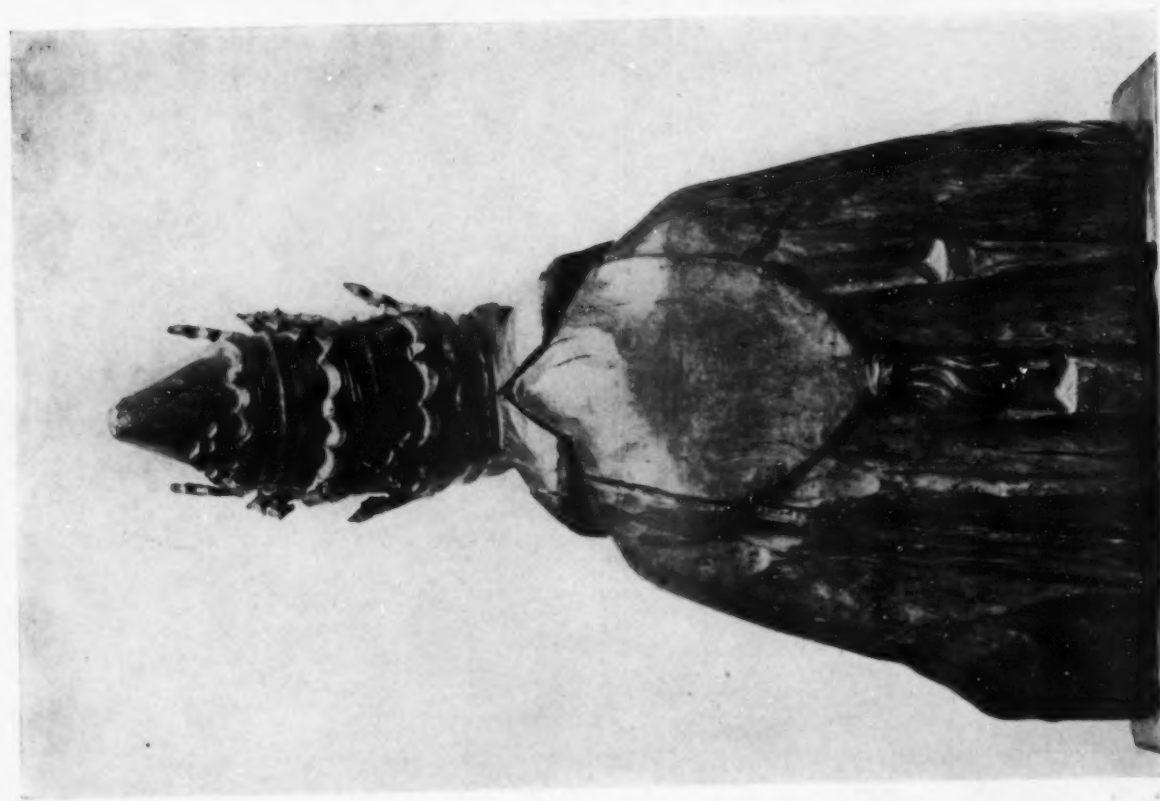


Fig. 2. Rear View of Fig. 1



*Fig. 3. SCHOOL OF TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, St. Urban
Randersacker, Parish Church*

Kolonat and *St. Totnan*, all three destined for the high altar of the Würzburg cathedral and now in the Neumünster at Würzburg.

The hollowing-out method prevents cracking but makes the busts more fragile than when carved from a solid block. In the case of the *St. Urban* bust from the Schweitzer collection (Fig. 1), Riemenschneider used a solid block which resulted in the remarkably good state of preservation of this bust. The only damage the bust has suffered are some vertical cracks, characteristic of such carvings from solid blocks. One vertical crack, hardly evident on the front but more on the back, split the bust from *St. Urban's* left shoulder all the way down. On the back it produced a cleavage which had to be filled in by a restorer with spans of wood a quarter of an inch wide. On the front only tiny spans had to be fitted in. A tiny crack, more in the nature of a fissure, runs vertically through the tiara and the pope's left eye, without doing harm to the appearance of the sculpture. A third crack, visible only on the back of the bust, appears like a dividing line between the section of the pope's cloak covering his right elbow and the main part of the bust.

These cracks probably developed shortly after the bust was finished. I have seen wood sculptures by Ernst Barlach, carved out of solid blocks, developing the same vertical cracks a few years after they were finished. Since the Schweitzer *St. Urban* is a relatively early work, as comparison with documented works will bear out, Riemenschneider, after he observed the results of using solid blocks, may have changed to the method of hollowing out busts as in the *St. Kilian* (Fig. 4), *St. Kolonat* and *St. Totnan*, carved between 1508 and 1510.

St. Urban (Fig. 1) appears as a kind-faced, elderly but still vigorous man, carrying the typical expression Riemenschneider imbued in nearly all of his creations, an expression of sadness and otherworldly spirituality, strangely contrasting with the robust realism with which every wrinkle of the face and every detail of the papal attire is rendered. The Pope wears the tiara over a cap which forms pointed lappets at the sides of his ears. Each of the three crowns encompassing the conical headdress is decorated with six cross-shaped leaves. Half of these leaves, especially the ones in the back, have broken off, as has the small orb and cross which doubtless crowned the top of the tiara.⁸ The cross was probably shaped similarly to the trifoliate leaves surrounding the crowns. Of other appointments only the cross-staff which was held by *Urban's* right hand has been lost.⁹ *St. Urban* wears the cope which, open in front, is held together by a diamond-shaped clasp, ornamented with a four-

leaved flower design in its center. Over the cope fall the infulae with their neatly fringed ends, hanging down from the back of the cap on which the tiara is placed. In the rear view (Fig. 2) the infulae cover the upper edge of the tasselled hood. This hood with its curves counteracts the vertical folds of the cope to which it is attached. In the frontal view (Fig. 1) the alb shows underneath the cope, and above the alb the amice is seen, the linen shoulder-cloth with its fine folds. Above the amice appears the shirt, closed with a small button.

In his left hand St. Urban holds a book on which is placed the bunch of grapes which characterize him as patron saint of the vineyards. Originally he was represented with a chalice. This chalice refers to Urban's decree, reported in the *liber pontificalis*, that chalice and paten, used in the celebration of the Mass, have to be made of silver or gold. When the vine growers and vineyardists chose him in late Gothic times as their patron saint and changed his symbol from a chalice to a bunch of grapes they did so because his feast (May 25) was celebrated at the very time of the year when the development of the grapes entered into its decisive stage and the blessings of Heaven had to be secured through a suitable mediator.¹⁰ The custom of having the vineyards blessed at the feast of St. Urban is still alive in Franconia, and busts like the one from the Schweitzer collection and the one from Randersacker were probably carried in the processions which moved up the steep paths between the vineyards covering the bluffs on both sides of the Main valley. Riemenschneider himself must have participated in such processions since he was a vine grower who had invested a considerable part of his fortune in vineyards.¹¹

There is no other sculpture of St. Urban or any other pope which could be attributed to Riemenschneider himself. Among the pieces from his workshop is only one which deserves attention, a seated *St. Leo the Great* (Fig. 6) in the parish church of Bibra which was dedicated to this saint.¹² Bibra was the ancestral home of Lorenz von Bibra, Bishop of Würzburg, under whose rule and patronage a great deal of Riemenschneider's life was spent.

The figure of *St. Leo the Great* was probably ordered by Lorenz von Bibra and delivered before the parish church of Bibra was consecrated in 1504. About ten years later it was made the center of an altarpiece with reliefs of the four great Latin fathers of the church on its shutters, executed probably in the second decade of the sixteenth century.¹³ Compared with the *St. Urban* of the Schweitzer collection (Fig. 1), or with a documented work like the

St. Kilian in the Neumünster (Fig. 4), this figure in Bibra (Fig. 6) is not of the same quality. It differs in its stout and heavy proportions from works of Riemenschneider's own hand. It was probably carved under his supervision by a workshop assistant.¹⁴

Although there are no other popes in Riemenschneider's work to compare with the *St. Urban* bust from the Schweitzer collection, its place in Riemenschneider's work can easily be ascertained through comparison with some of the bishops he created. There is a strong similarity between *St. Urban* and *Bishop Rudolf von Scherenberg* as he appears on this bishop's monument which Riemenschneider carved between 1496 and 1499.¹⁵ The fleshy face with its crows' feet about the eyes and wrinkles on the leathery neck, with the almond-shaped eyes and the downcast curve of the mouth, dominated by the vigorous fleshy shape of the nose, has a striking similarity, although Rudolf von Scherenberg is shown older—he died at the ripe age of 93—than *St. Urban*.

The prototype of *St. Urban* and of *Rudolf von Scherenberg* can be found in the early works of Riemenschneider: the reading *St. Mark* in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 5) which comes from the "sarch" (i.e. predella) of the Münnerstadt altarpiece, carved between 1490 and 1492, and the *Bishop Maximin Offering the Host to the Magdalene* in one of the reliefs from the left shutter of the Münnerstadt altarpiece, still in the possession of the Münnerstadt parish church (Fig. 8).¹⁶ These sculptures lead up to the figure of *Rudolf von Scherenberg*, but are not so close to the *St. Urban* bust from the Schweitzer collection as the Scherenberg figure itself. Closer, however, to the *St. Urban* bust than even the *Rudolf von Scherenberg* figure seem to come certain figures in Riemenschneider's *Last Supper*, carved for the altar of the Holy Blood in *St. James'* at Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber between 1501 and 1502 (Fig. 9).¹⁷ Their deeply religious expression seems to indicate that they have found refuge from the troubles of this earth in a spiritual world, as does *St. Urban's* expression. This expression is strengthened in the apostles from the *Last Supper*, as well as in the *St. Urban* from the Schweitzer collection, by the outward gaze of the eyes and the tense modeling, giving more emphasis to the roundness of form than was found in the linear style of the Scherenberg monument. Figures like the one below *St. James* at the left end of the *Last Supper*, or the apostle in the front row just opposite the standing Judas (Fig. 7), should be compared with the *St. Urban*. Even the hands of *St. Urban*, expressive, though covered by gloves, will find their counterpart in such hands as those of the Apostle Andrew resting on the railing of the bench in the *Last Supper* (Fig. 10).

Later figures like the apostles of the Creglingen *Assumption*¹⁸ or the *St. Kilian* (Fig. 4) and the other sculptures from the high altar of the Würzburg cathedral,¹⁹ carved between 1508 and 1510 as stated before, are different in expression and treatment of form. The modeling seems less tight, light and shade play a far more important part in the composition and the expression changes too, into a more alive rendering, though the intensity and restraint with which the features of the *St. Urban* and the apostles in the Rothenburg *Last Supper* were rendered has its own beauty, convincing even if compared with these later works. It is amusing to note that even the gloves of *St. Kilian* are looser, less tightly following the shape of the hand than *St. Urban's* gloves. The way the cope is arranged bears out the same contrast.

It seems evident that the *St. Urban* bust was carved about the same time that Riemenschneider worked on the *Last Supper* (1501-1502), or even a little earlier, but certainly not later. This would permit dating the bust about 1500.

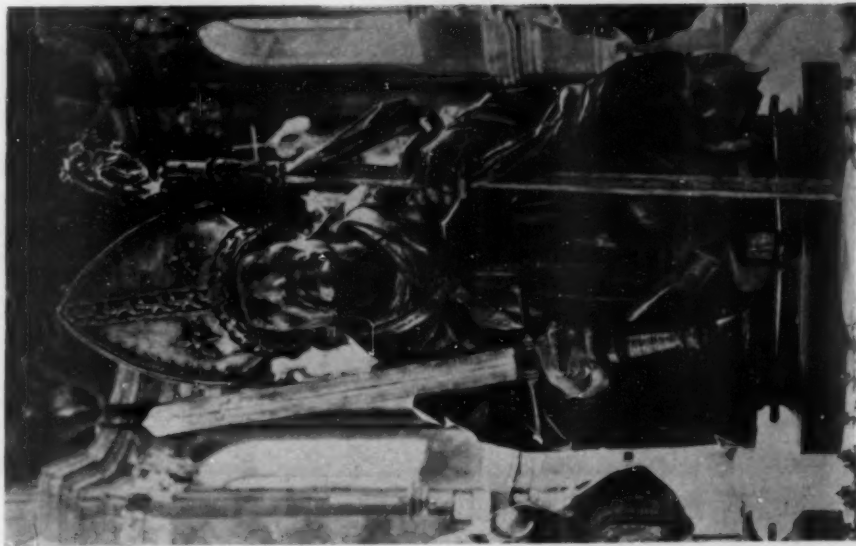


Fig. 4. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, *St. Kilian*
Würzburg, Neumünster



Fig. 5. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, *St. Mark (detail)*
Berlin, Deutsches Museum



Fig. 6. WORKSHOP OF TILMANN
RIEMENSCHNEIDER, *St. Leo the Great*
Bibra, Parish Church



Fig. 7. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, *Last Supper* (detail)
 Rotenburg-ob-der-Tauber, St. James' Church

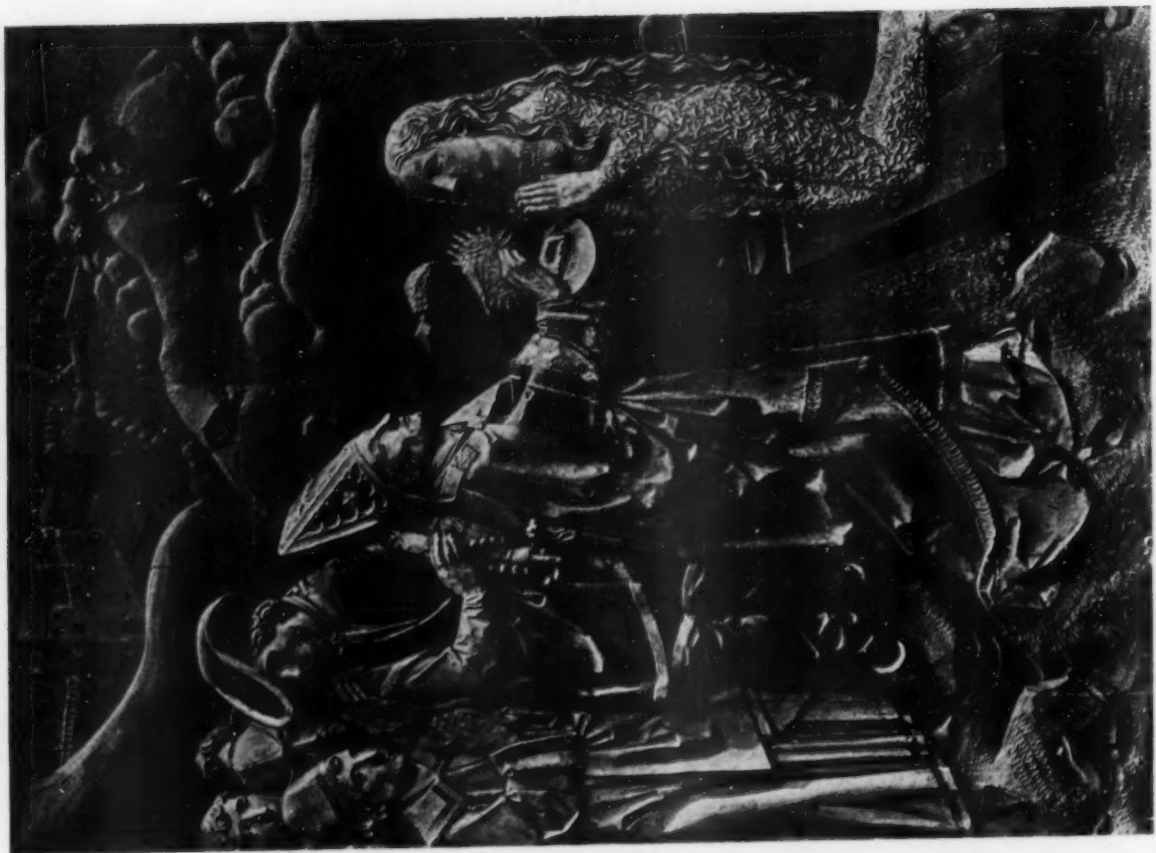


Fig. 8. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER,
Bishop Maximin Offering the Host to the Magdalene
 Männerstadt, Parish Church

- ¹ Justus Bier, "The Bust of a Bishop by Tilman Riemenschneider," *The Art Quarterly*, VI (1943), 139-166.
- ² The bust was formerly in the collection of Henry Goldman, New York, and is mentioned in the obituary of this collector in *Art News*, XXXV (April, 1937), 19.
- ³ The height of this bust without the modern base is 26 inches, its width is 14½ inches. The bust is without paint, the lindenwood stained a deep brown. This stain is not original. Unpainted lindenwood sculptures by Riemenschneider, if not stained in the 19th century, appear in the creamy white, characteristic for lindenwood.
- ⁴ Georg Gronau, *Katalog der Sammlung Eugen Schweitzer*, mit Vorwort von Max I. Friedländer, Auktion bei Cassirer in Berlin, Juni, 1918, no. 80.
- ⁵ The height of this wooden bust, covered with an ugly coat of modern paint, is 50 cm. *Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Bayern*, vol. III, Unterfranken, no. 3, Bezirksamt Würzburg, Munich, 1911, p. 113, fig. 78, lists it as "about 1500" without relating it to Riemenschneider. H. Schrade, *Tilman Riemenschneider*, Heidelberg, 1927, ii, 28, note 206, no. 7, lists it as a work of the school of Riemenschneider. Another *St. Urban*, a high relief, was exhibited in 1893 in Würzburg by the administration of the church at Pfaffenhausen as a work "of the school of Riemenschneider." Cf. *Katalog der fränkischen Ausstellung von Altstümmern*, Würzburg, 1893, p. 59, no. 1264. This work has never been reproduced and is unknown to me. Influenced by Riemenschneider's art is the "St. Orbanus," as labeled in an inscription at its base, a full-length figure in high relief, contained in an altarpiece from the workshop of Valentin Lendenstreich in the Germanic National Museum at Nuremberg. Cf. O. Doering and G. Voss, *Meisterwerke der Kunst in Sachsen und Thüringen*, Magdeburg, n.d., p. 64 and pl. 79; W. Josephi, *Die Werke plastischer Kunst im Germanischen National Museum*, Nürnberg, 1910, no. 453. This altarpiece, dated 1507, was finished by Valentin Lendenstreich in the year of his death and is the only one of Lendenstreich's sculptures showing Riemenschneider's influence. It was evidently carved by an assistant who came from Würzburg.
- ⁶ Cf. *The Art Quarterly*, VI (1943), 163-164, figs. 3 and 5. Cf. also J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider Die reifen Werke*, Augsburg, 1930, pp. 104-115, 179-185, and pls. 118-122.
- ⁷ Alfred M. Frankfurter, "Supplement to the Kress Collection," *Art News*, XLIV (Feb., 1946), 26-27. Frankfurter's assumption that a relic box once reposed "in the opening of the flattened back" is not supported by any evidence. Relics were retained in a box of precious metals set in the square recess in the alb which, however, is not original.
- ⁸ It is shown on the tiara of the *St. Urban* bust at Randersacker (Fig. 3). The orb is omitted only when the tiara is shaped with a semi-spherical top, itself suggesting the orb, as in the pope of Sixt von Staufen's Locherer altarpiece of 1524 in the cathedral at Freiburg-im-Breisgau, reproduced in Otto Schmitt, *Oberrheinische Plastik im ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1924, pl. 137.
- ⁹ The papal cross-staff has three pairs of arms corresponding to the three crowns of the papal tiara. It was so depicted in Riemenschneider's time, for instance by Martin Schaffner: cf. his *Pope Cornelius* on the shutter of an altarpiece in the Augsburg Gallery, reproduced by Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst*, II, *Ikongraphie der Heiligen*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1926, p. 170, fig. 75. Yet sometimes the metropolitan cross-staff with two pairs of arms is used, as in a sculpture of *Pope Sixtus* from the early 16th century at Dörfendorf, reproduced by Künstle, *op. cit.*, II, 341, fig. 257. Or the pope is given the cross-staff with only one pair of arms as in a sculpture of *St. Gregor* in an altarpiece from Hersbruck, carved about 1490, in the Germanic National Museum at Nuremberg, reproduced by Josephi, *op. cit.*, p. 147. *St. Urban* appears even with the bishop's crook, in a sculpture by the Master H. L. in Niederrotweil, reproduced by Schmitt, *op. cit.*, pl. 129.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Karl Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
- ¹¹ We have a declaration of Riemenschneider's real estate in his own handwriting from the year 1525. It is preserved in the Würzburg Municipal Archive and laid in *Ratsbuch* no. 108, which contains the list of tax assessments of this year. Riemenschneider lists in this declaration, in addition to houses and gardens in the city of Würzburg, 17½ *morgen* vineyards in various locations, of which he had turned over 10½ *morgen* to his five children as advance on their inheritance before he entered into his fourth marriage. His fourth wife Margaret brought another five *morgen* with her. The *morgen*, according to Bavarian standards, is equal to 0.84 acres.
- ¹² In Lehfeldt-Voss, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Thüringens*, XXXIV, Jena, 1909, p. 319, described as Pope Gregor the Great, height 133 cm.
- ¹³ In the 19th century the statue of *St. Leo the Great* was replaced by a modern oil-treated color print of Christ. On my suggestion the Thüringian Museum in Eisenach, in charge of the restoration of the Bibra church, returned the statue to this altarpiece in 1937. The statue was identified as *St. Leo the Great* by Dr. Franz J. Bendel, archivist of the Bischöfliche Ordinariat in Würzburg, on account of the dedication of the church and the high altar to this saint. That *St. Gregor the Great* is represented in one of the four reliefs on the shutters of the altarpiece makes the identification of the center figure as *St. Leo the Great* even more probable.
- ¹⁴ E. Tönnies, "Tilman Riemenschneider," *Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Strassburg, 1900, XXII, 258, no. 7, and G. Anton Weber, *Til Riemenschneider*, Regensburg, 1911, p. 254, accepted the work as of Riemenschneider's own hand. Yet C. Adelman, in *Walballa*, Leipzig, 1910, VI, 99, no. 4, called the statue, which he titles *St. Sixtus*, a workshop piece. Also H. Schrade, *op. cit.*, II, 28 f, note 206, no. 4, refused to accept it as a work of the master.
- ¹⁵ Reproduced in *The Art Quarterly*, VI (1943), 163, fig. 2.; cf. also J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider Die frühen Werke*, Würzburg, 1925, pp. 78-90, 101-103, and pls. 52-53, 55-61.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Bier, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-59, 92-99, and pls. 9, 11, 15, 29.

¹⁷ Cf. J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider Die reifen Werke*, Augsburg, 1930, pp. 21-43, 169-175, and pls. 70-78.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 176-178, and pls. 90-96.

¹⁹ Cf. note 6.



*Fig. 9. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, Last Supper
Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, St. James' Church*



*Fig. 10. TILMANN RIEMENSCHNEIDER, Last Supper (detail)
Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, St. James' Church*



Fig. 1. GOYA, *Mitad de Cuaresma*
Grünewald, Gerstenberg Collection



Fig. 2. GOYA, *Capricho 13, "Están calientes"*
New York, Hispanic Society of America



Fig. 3. GOYA, *Borricon que anda en dos pies*
Madrid, Prado

GOYA'S VISION OF MID-LENT MERRIMENT

By JOSE LOPEZ-REY

THERE is (or there was) in the Gerstenberg Collection, at Grünewald, a black chalk drawing on white paper (7 x 5½ in.) by Goya bearing the caption *Mitad de Cuaresma* ("Mid-Lent") in the artist's handwriting. Underneath this inscription it is still possible to detect another which is decipherable as *Parten la vieja* ("They are dividing the old woman"). This earlier caption is also found in a brush drawing of the same subject in the Louvre Museum, which Mayer thinks comes from the larger sketchbook used by Goya during his sojourn at the Duchess of Alba's estate in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Andalusia, in 1796-97.¹

The black chalk drawing of Mid-Lent was published, together with thirty more in the same medium, size and kind of paper, by Paul Lafond in 1907. It seems that they were among those made by Goya during his stay in Bordeaux in the last years of his life, as the captions of three of them refer to Bordeaux, and that of at least one of these to the year 1826.

Paul Lafond describes as follows the drawing now under consideration (Fig. 1): "Un bourreau scie en deux à la hauteur des hanches un homme nu étendu sur une table, qu'en arrière, deux curieux, sans doute prêtres, considerent attentivement."² It is true that the drawing represents a man cutting in half with a two-handed saw an ugly figure lying on a large table, while two priests look on. However, there does not seem to be anything sinister about this composition as identifying it with an execution might suggest; instead, it appears that the supposed executioner is rather the performer of an ancient bit of buffoonery; as for the figure stretched across the table, it is that of an old woman, not a man, and has a symbolical character.

Don José Blanco White (1775-1841), one of Goya's contemporaries, tells us about the Andalusian way of celebrating Mid-Lent in his youth. According to him, the middle of the Lenten fasting season was welcomed with great popular merrymaking. He remarks that there was little ground for the "peevish feelings" exhibited then against the religious prohibition on more than one daily meal—from which meat, eggs, milk, cheese and butter were excluded—from Ash Wednesday to Easter Eve. "For few of the poorer inhabitants of large towns taste any meat in the course of the year, and living as they do upon a very scanty pittance of bread and pulse, they can ill afford to confine themselves to one meal in the four-and-twenty hours."³ The privations of the fast-

ing season were felt chiefly by that numerous class who, unable to dispel their superstitious fear, and lacking on the other hand a strong sense of the duty of religious observances, submitted like unwilling slaves to the unwelcome task which they did not dare to omit. Many, however, fell off before the end of Lent, and took to their breakfasts and suppers under the sanction of some good-natured doctor who would declare fasting injurious to their health. Moreover, the laws of abstinence had long ago undergone mitigations of a rather substantial character, and even the monks used to indulge in what were casuistically considered venial infractions.

In spite of all this, the popular rejoicing at Mid-Lent continued with enthusiasm. "Children of all ranks, those of the poor in the streets, and such as belong to the better classes in their houses, appear fantastically decorated, not unlike the English chimney-sweepers on Mayday, with caps of gilt and coloured paper, and coats made of the *Crusade Bulls* of the preceding year. In this attire they keep up an incessant din the whole day, crying, as they sound their drums and rattles, *Aserrar la vieja; la pícara pelleja*: 'Saw down the old woman, the scoundrel b—ch.' About midnight, parties of the common people parade the streets, knocking at every door, and repeating the same words. I understand that they end this revel by sawing in two the figure of an old woman, which is meant as the emblem of Lent."⁴

Obviously this last act of Mid-Lent merrymaking provided the subject-matter for the drawing under discussion. Yet Goya did not limit himself to the illustration of popular custom. He seems, in fact, to have used it as a starting point for one of his keen representations of the glutton's impatience.

Greed in all its forms was one of the vices that Goya frequently exposed in his etchings and drawings. To be sure, he did not do so out of a preoccupation with morals but was rather led by his rationalistic views on the actual enjoyment that could only be spoiled by an avidity such as the glutton or the avaricious man is afflicted with.

The uneasiness, even anguish, caused by greed seems to have invited Goya's reflections throughout his life. His graphic work comprises, in fact, a rather sizable number of drawings and aquatints in which avarice or gluttony is depicted as stupid.

Among Goya's versions of such crass leanings as are found in the *Caprichos* we may single out plate 13 (Fig. 2). In this aquatint, two monks gulp eagerly at their soup, while another, who is sitting at the table with them, leans over, his face and attitude expressive of brutish fawning; the disquieting sense of

avidity is made more pressing by the cleric filling the lighter part of the background who brings in yet more food. Such gluttonous uneasiness has been epitomized by Goya in the caption of the plate: "It's hot" (*Están calientes*). Goya's own commentary on this acquatint is characteristic of the sensuous nature of his disgust with gluttony: "They are so eager to gulp down their food that they swallow it when it is still boiling. Temperance and moderation are necessary even to enjoy pleasures."⁵

The actual meaning of Goya's late drawing of Mid-Lent does not seem to be too far from that of *Capricho* 13. We do not find in it any allusion to parties of common people giving way to their peevish feelings against old Lent (Fig. 1). Unlike *Borrigo que anda en dos pies* (Prado Museum) (Fig. 3), and some others of Goya's late drawings having popular amusements as subjects, the background is not made up of a crowd, but of two priestly faces. Indeed, there appears to be nothing popular about this rendering of a traditional custom. The foreground is left rather empty, which makes even more imposing the unbounded table occupying the middle of the composition and on which the emblematical figure lies. There a vigorous man is exerting himself in the task of sawing at the shrunken figure, his face expressive of relish, not unlike what he would have were he gluttonously carving meat. Such an expression is subtly reaffirmed by the countenances of the two clerics. Gleeefully intent on this acting out of Mid-Lent, leers of anticipation brutalize their faces. In any case, as they watch the operation being performed on the Gargantuan table, surely their faces are expressive less of holy compliance than of gluttonous expectancy. Thus Goya, by forgetting about the crowd of merry-makers and individualizing, instead, the eagerness attendant upon Mid-Lent, expressed the narrow scope of the assurances symbolized in the sawing of the old woman. But, more than that, he again gave trenchant shape to his abhorrence of gluttony and its accompanying uneasiness. Such abhorrence did not derive from the artist's preoccupation with religious observances; it did derive from his idea of the voluptuary's approach to pleasure. And this idea, in part at least, was a result of Goya's rococo background.

¹ A. L. Mayer, *Goya Drawings in the Louvre*, "Old Master Drawings," London, XIII (September, 1938), 22-23.

² Paul Lafond, *Nouveaux Caprices de Goya*, Paris, 1907, no. 3.

³ See *Letters from Spain* by Don Leucadio Doblado (pseudonym of José Blanco White), London, 1822, pp. 274ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Goya's manuscript containing his commentaries on the *Caprichos* is kept at the Prado Museum. It was published by Aureliano de Beruete y Moret (*Goya grabador*, Madrid, 1918, pp. 38-60) along with his discussion of the plates in the series.

A LATE MEDIEVAL CHASUBLE CROSS

By ADELE COULIN WEIBEL

WHEN, in 1853, M. de Laborde published his *Glossaire français du moyen âge*, he wrote of the art of embroidery: "I do not know of a greater service to render to the arts than to write the history of embroidery. This would be not the completion but the introduction and obligatory accompaniment of a true history of painting . . . To say that the most famous painters devoted their talent to create cartoons to be translated into embroidery, is to show its importance."¹ In 1890 another Frenchman, Louis de Farcy, published a fully illustrated account of the history of embroidery.² This truly model publication will always retain its value as a foundation for the edifice which will eventually become the *Corpus acu picturarum*, with large and small contributions by many admirers of this possibly oldest of the great crafts. For to the classic specimens of de Farcy's time there have been added a great number of embroideries then unknown, discovered in church sacristies and in the attics of old houses.

To these belongs the back portion of an important *Chasuble with embroidered orphrey showing the Crucifixion*, which has recently been added to the collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts as a gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leslie H. Green, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan (Fig. 1).³ The chasuble is made of sapphire-blue velvet, pomegranate patterned, probably woven in Venice in the early fifteenth century. The orphrey is cross-shaped, of gold thread couched with red silk in a zigzag pattern and bordered with greenish gold tape. The blond Christ is nailed to the upper half of a long cross, shaped like a real tree, the branches bend beneath His weight. A small angel collects the blood from the wound in His side in a golden chalice. Beneath His feet stand confronted the Virgin and St. John, below them the kneeling Magdalen embraces the cross. The half figures of two prophets, with scrolls foretelling the Great Sacrifice, occupy the arms of the cross. A fluttering scroll with the inscription I.N.R.I. is fastened to a longish spike driven into the sawed-off top of the tree-cross. The composition was originally extended above and below, but a cloud pattern and parts of a praying figure with a scroll are all that remains. Originally the cloud must have framed the half-figure of God the Father, while the kneeling figure at the lower end with its tonsured head may have been that of a monk or a member of a congregation. The arms of the cross also have been shortened, the scrolls of the prophets are partly hidden

by the branches of the tree-cross. There are visible traces of the foundation fabric where Christ's arms have been cut out from the original embroidery (Fig. 3). Now they are only loosely sewn to the cross-arms. The entire composition is worked in flat stitch in loosely twisted silk; the angel's curly hair is rendered in bouillon stitch, the nimbi are whirls of gold finished with a corded line of white silk. The preservation is excellent, with only a very few slight abrasions, especially on the mantle of the Virgin.

Nothing has suffered more from the destructive stupidity of man than the embroideries of the Middle Ages. As Father Braun says, "unless a chasuble was believed to be the relic of a saint, it was not safe from the scissors. We find therefore the curious fact that a number of very early medieval chasubles have been preserved intact, while there are very few of late medieval origin, of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries."⁴ The early chasubles were shaped like huge bells; the term *casula* has been explained by Isidore of Seville as meaning "a small house."⁵ While officiating at the altar, the priest must have been inconvenienced by the mass of heavy stuff lying in folds on his forearms. For this reason the chasubles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were made somewhat narrower; older chasubles were sometimes shortened at the sides. The havoc of later centuries changed the chasubles to mere wide stoles, cutting them wide at the neck and shortening their length. The length of our chasuble is now 43 inches, but originally it must have measured 55 to 58 inches. The width across the shoulders has been reduced from perhaps 35 to 38 inches to the present 22½ inches.

While the chasubles of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, especially those made in England, were sometimes entirely covered with fine needlework, the later fourteenth century preferred to concentrate the embroidery on widened orphreys. Obviously in order to remind the faithful of Christ's death and the mystery of its renewal in the service of the Mass, the orphrey of the chasuble often depicted the Crucifixion. An early Christian legend of Syriac origin tells that on Adam's tomb a seed of the Tree of Life from Paradise was planted by an angel. A thousand years later, in King David's time, it had grown to a huge tree which was cut down and used to build a bridge across the waters of Siloe. When the Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem, to pay her famous visit to Solomon, she knelt down on the bridge and prophesied that because of its wood the earth would tremble, sun and moon be darkened and the dead leave their tombs. All this came to pass when from it the Cross was made. Thus this Tree is the mysterious link between

Adam who brought sin into the world, and Christ who liberated humanity from its fetters.⁶

As the place of origin of our beautiful embroidery we advocate Bohemia, one of the chief protagonists of the international style of the late fourteenth century. This is not a style formed by outstanding personalities, but a conglomerate of many influences. France contributed the calligraphic linear elements, Italy the plastic modeling; the pictorial refinement can be traced to Byzantine art, as seen through Sienese eyes. The meeting-center and melting pot was Avignon where for more than a hundred years the popes held their court in exile. It was a wonderful court—Petrarch called it "a cesspool of iniquity"—which attracted from everywhere learned men and artists, jugglers and courtesans. Here was the arena where new ideas were paraded, the market where everything was for sale.

Among the many royal visitors to Avignon was the grandson of the Emperor Henry VII who for his education lived at the French court. Twice at least he came, once as Prince Wenceslaus of Bohemia to visit his teacher Pierre de Rossiers, and then again with a great retinue as the Emperor Charles IV. Another visitor was the Bishop of Prague, John of Drazic. Accused, in 1320, of too great leniency in dealing with the heretic forerunners of John Huss, he was cited before the *curia* and for nine years stayed at Avignon as the guest of Pope John XXII. His interest appears to have been attracted by the recently founded order of St. Augustine, that last flickering of medieval monachism, for, on his return to Bohemia, he founded the Congregation of Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Raudnitz, to which he gave or bequeathed his large library of beautifully illuminated books which had been written for him at Avignon.⁷ Within the following thirty-five years six more congregations grew up in different parts of Bohemia; the last of these, Wittingau, founded in 1367, became an important center of diverse arts.

During the reign of Charles IV (1346-1378), Prague became one of the most important cities on the Continent. From being merely the provincial capital of the Przemyslid dynasty it rose to the status of capital of the Empire, the center of all political and economical activities. In 1348 Charles founded there the first German university and all through his reign he built up and embellished his favorite residence. Excellent roads connected Prague with Venice to the south, with the territory of the Teutonic knights to the northeast, the Hansa towns to the north and west. Charles has been called the first modern ruler, he brought Bohemia to a high state of prosperity, with increased

security to citizens and landowners. Nature herself seemed to aid him, for, about the middle of the century, the plague epidemics with all their mental aberrations, flagellations and pogroms, abated and, so the Limburg Chronicle tells, "the world began again to live and be gay."

Bohemia did not draw its strength from its own soil. The art of the period of Charles and his son Wenceslaus flowered in a forcing house. Charles was an entirely international man, well versed in the cultures of France and Italy and thus, when he became the ruler of a Slavonic country, he brought there this international art. French models ruled in miniature painting, Italian influences in mural and easel painting came from Lombardy and Avignon, Greek artists were called to furnish the cathedral with mosaics. Thus it might be postulated that the fundamental characteristic of the Bohemian school is its eclecticism.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Augustinian monastery of Wittingau in Southern Bohemia seems to have been a center of artistic activity. The canons engaged several calligraphers and illuminators and purchased books written elsewhere. The monastic sculptors created a new type, "the beautiful Madonna," of which several closely related specimens are preserved.⁸ At Wittingau, in the last decade of the fourteenth century, there worked also the anonymous painter, the Master of Wittingau, of whose great altar four panels are preserved. In these we see the prototypes of our embroidery.⁹

Embroidery, or better, needle-painting, has an honorable history in Bohemia. It is quite probable that Charles IV had seen some of the fine work of the papal embroiderers at Avignon; it is possible that he acquired specimens, perhaps chasubles and antependia, for his own use and later encouraged the great craft in his own lands. Three magnificent altar frontals are preserved, enough to indicate the high standards of needlecraft in Bohemia. The earliest is the antependium of the *Passion of Christ* in the Historic Museum at Berne, Switzerland; this was the gift of Duke Albrecht II (died 1358) to the monastery of Königsfelden, founded by his sister, the widowed Queen Agnes of Hungary.¹⁰ Almost contemporary is the antependium of Pirna, in the Dresden Museum, which depicts the *Coronation of the Virgin*.¹¹ Both belong to the Court School of Prague. The third antependium, with *half-figures of biblical personages* in three rows, in polychrome silks on gold ground, came from Wittingau, possibly from the same workshop which produced our chasuble. It was acquired by the Schlossmuseum Berlin from the Figdor collection.¹²

All these embroideries are technically perfect translations of paintings by the needle. We turn therefore to the Master of Wittingau, probably a native Bohemian of Slavonic blood who had worked in a French atelier, possibly as an assistant to Melchior Broederlam at Dijon. Back in Bohemia, he painted, about 1390, a large altar. When we compare the crucified Christ of our embroidery (Fig. 3) with the one from the Wittingau altar painting (Fig. 4), we find in both the same astonishing contradictions: a quiet lyrical conception, the tender head with features delicately moulded, the torso of an ephebos, contrasting with the arms which are long lines of pain ending in hands cramped around the fastening nails, and the feet with their incredibly expressive long toes which foreshadow Grünewald's pseudo-baroque by a hundred years. Even the loincloth is tied in similar elaboration, but the embroiderer has accentuated the gray shadows and added a golden hem. He has also added the little angel who, in his blue dress and red shoes, with long narrow green wings wide apart, relieves the almost unbearable tension of the too long white body of Christ. Like a well-behaved child the angel holds the chalice, awkwardly, as if too heavy for his hands; his anxious concentration adds a delicate touch to the tragedy which, permissible in the embroidery, would have been wrong in the painting. This angel seems to have been a specialty of Southern Bohemian embroidery, possibly a specialty of just one workshop: he is present again in the compositions of orphreys, of a pluviale (No. 24) and a chasuble (No. 84) preserved at Danzig,¹³ and a chasuble of the collection of Dr. Emil Delmár.¹⁴

The assisting figures also have their parallels in the Wittingau altar, and in the sculptures of that locality (Fig. 2). For, as in the "beautiful Madonna," there is the characteristic facial type of round heads with large, broad foreheads and full cheeks tapering to a very small round chin, the urge towards ornamental drapery which in all its splendid amplitude accentuates rather than hides the bony structure of the body. The undulating hems are like a subconscious remembrance of Byzantine mannerism, especially noticeable also in the Wittingau panel of *Three Saints* (Fig. 6), where we find too the barely protruding toes of our St. John. The kneeling Magdalen, with the curves of the body clearly marked, the drapery massed at both sides, is derived from the *Christ in Gethsemane* (Fig. 5). The three figures in our orphrey form a magnificent color chord: the Virgin in a green dress barely visible beneath the blue mantle with its pink lining, St. John in a red tunic and green mantle; the Magdalen sumptuous in cloth of gold with red lining, over a mauve dress,



*Fig. 1. Back portion of a chasuble with embroidered orphrey, in the style of the
Master of Wittingau, Bohemia, early 15th century
Detroit Institute of Arts*



Fig. 2. Detail of Orphrey



Fig. 3. Detail of Orphrey



Fig. 4. MASTER OF WITTINGAU, *The Crucifixion*
Prague, Rudolfinum



Fig. 5. MASTER OF WITTINGAU,
Christ in Gethsemane (detail)
Prague, Rudolfinum



Fig. 6. MASTER OF WITTINGAU, *Three Saints*
Prague, Rudolfinum

her long blond hair visible beneath the white veil. This color chord is completed by the prophets and their scrolls. The remnant of the praying figure below, clearly dressed in a rochet, the characteristic and essential garment of the canon, may have been a portrait of the donor and in that case would have been of assistance in fixing the place of origin of the embroidery, which we date between 1400 and 1420.

The art of Bohemia, so full of promise, came to a sudden end with the Hussite wars, 1415 to 1436.

¹ Gaston Migeon, *Les Arts du Tissu*, Paris, 1909, p. 101.

² Louis de Farcy, *La Broderie du XIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, Angers, 1890. *Supplement*, Angers, 1900.

³ Back part of a chasuble. Accession no. 46.1. Length 43 inches; width 25 inches. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leslie H. Green.

⁴ Joseph Braun S. J., *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, p. 197.

⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologia* I, 19, 24: "Casula dicta per diminutionem a casa quasi minor casa" (Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 154).

⁶ Hans von der Gabelentz, *Die kirchliche Kunst im italienischen Mittelalter*, Strassburg, 1907, p. 73.

⁷ Max Dvorák, "Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt," *Jahrbuch der k. k. Kunstsammlungen*, Wien, XXII (1901), no. 2.

⁸ Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, Berlin, 1930, II, 187; plates 437 to 442, the last from the monastery of Wittingau.

⁹ Wilhelm Worringer, *Die Anfänge der Tafelmalerie*, Leipzig, 1924. This is by far the best study of the paintings of the Bohemian school and also mentions embroidery.

¹⁰ Farcy, *op. cit.*, pl. 57; *Supplement*, pl. 157; Jakob Stammer, *Der Paramentenschatz im historischen Museum zu Bern*, Berne, 1895, pp. 64-66.

¹¹ Migeon, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Ernst Scheyer, "Die kirchliche Stickerei des Mittelalters," *Die Christliche Kunst*, Munich, 1930, p. 298 ff.

¹² Moritz Dreger, *Künstlerische Entwicklung der Weberei und Stickerei*, Vienna, 1904, p. 195, pl. 189. Otto von Falke, *Die Sammlung Dr. Albert Figdor*, Vienna, 1930, vol. I, catalogue no. 175.

¹³ Walter Mannowsky, *Der Danziger Paramentenschatz*, Berlin, 1932.

¹⁴ Conrad von Mandach, "Kunst und Kunstgewerbe," *Exhibition catalogue*, Kunstmuseum, Berne, 1939, no. 48.

RUBENS' PAINTINGS IN AMERICA

By W. R. VALENTINER

RUBENS was the last of the great Dutch and Flemish masters to be appreciated by the American collectors and museums. Rembrandt and Frans Hals were the heroes of the first generation of great private collectors in this country. Even before World War I America could boast of owning some of the most outstanding works by these two masters while Rubens was only represented by a small number of sketches, portraits and workshop paintings. (The number of Rembrandt paintings in America had reached one hundred in 1914, those of Rubens, forty; but more important than the number was the difference in quality.)

To the somewhat decadent taste of the twenties and thirties the society art of Van Dyck appealed far more than the robust style of his greater master. In the field of Dutch art such *l'art pour l'art* painters as Vermeer came to the fore; or among the landscape painters, for instance, the rather repetitious and artificially composed paintings of Hobbema brought often ten times as much as those of the more substantial and more imaginative Jacob Ruysdael. (At the time when works by Hobbema were sold to such collectors as Morgan, Altman, Frick, Widener and Mellon for 150,000 to 250,000 dollars, the great romantic composition *The Cemetery* by Ruysdael, now in the Detroit Museum, was acquired by a Detroit collector for 10,000 dollars.)

If the doors were closed to Rubens so long, it was owing to puritan prejudice against his sensuous, heathen character, not, of course, to inferior artistic qualities compared to the other Dutch or Flemish masters. Americans knew well from their travels that the artist was represented in the most famous public collections in Europe like the Louvre, the National Gallery in London, the Berlin, Dresden and Munich galleries, by an overwhelming number of outstanding works, but they did not like his style and manner. Private collectors like Frick, Altman, Mellon, Widener, who possessed many masterpieces by Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Van Dyck, Vermeer, did not acquire a single painting by Rubens. Mrs. Gardner had at least one fine portrait in her collection, Mrs. Havemeyer one workshop painting. It is characteristic that only J. Pierpont Morgan, the most independent of this group of collectors, owned half a dozen paintings by Rubens (not all of equal quality however) which are now mostly in the Metropolitan Museum. The few paintings which American museums owned at the time when these private collections were formed,

landed there more by accident than by any effort of their directors who showed little interest in the art of Rubens.

It is curious that just at this time, especially in the second and third decade of the present century, a new wave of enthusiasm for Rubens swept European art circles: several collectors in England and on the Continent built up collections which were almost entirely devoted to the art of this master.

It may have been as a reflection of this European wave, or it may have been also a result of the more robust taste which developed with the approaching second World War, but from about the middle of the thirties on, interest in Rubens in this country suddenly arose and the importation of Rubens' paintings increased remarkably. The list of Rubens' paintings, published here, is more than three times as large as that of 1914; and the number of workshop paintings is much smaller in proportion than in the former list. It is true, many of the listed paintings are still in the hands of New York dealers and cannot actually be called as yet American possessions. But the likelihood is that only very few of these paintings will go back to Europe. They would not have been brought over if there was not a demand for them.

That a widespread interest in the art of Rubens exists now in this country can be proved by the recent acquisitions of some of the leading museums. First of all the Boston Museum has systematically enlarged its Rubens collection so as to show his art in all its versatility. The Metropolitan Museum, for years under a shower of gold in the form of inherited masterpieces, among them also some of Rubens, has begun at last to put some kind of order into this collection of paintings by filling up some gaps and displaying them to better advantage. The collection of Rubens' paintings which has been enriched by recent purchases of some outstanding sketches and larger compositions, is now shown in a large gallery together with some paintings by Van Dyck and other pupils. The Philadelphia Museum was fortunate in inheriting the splendid series of Rubens' sketches from the John G. Johnson collection. Besides, a considerable number of Midwest and Western museums have added during the last decade one or more paintings to their collections (Detroit, St. Louis, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Oberlin College, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego). Only the National Gallery in Washington still has Rubens quite inadequately represented as there were no paintings by him in the great collections which founded its nucleus, with the exception of a study head in the Chester Dale collection (the *Portrait of Isabella Brant* from the Hermitage is not by Rubens, but by Van Dyck).

With the rapid development in this country after a beginning is once made, it can hardly be doubted that Rubens will soon be as splendidly represented in American collections as the other great masters of the past.

I ANTWERP (1597-1600)

1. PORTRAIT OF A GOLDSMITH. 1597. Exquisitely executed on copper. Detroit 16. Henry Blank, Newark, N. J.
2. PORTRAIT OF A MAN. Bust. About 1600. First attributed to Rubens by W. Bode and L. Burchard. Mrs. Moses J. Wentworth sale No. 70, Parke Bernet, Feb. 20-21, 1946.
3. TWO STUDIES OF A BEARDED MAN. One head turned right; the other *en face*. About 1600. Owner unknown.

II ITALIAN PERIOD (1600-1608)

4. CHRIST CARRYING THE CROSS. Half-length. 1603. Belongs in style to series of Apostles in Madrid. Reproduced: *K.d.K.*, p. 439 (where authenticity is questioned without reason). Workshop copies in Palazzo Corsini, Rome, and Schottenstift, Vienna. Art Gallery of Toronto, Canada.
5. MARCHESA BRIGITTA SPINOLA-DORIA. 1606. Formerly Hossin-Déon Coll., Paris. (A lithograph by Pierre Hédouin, 1846, shows painting before canvas was cut down.) Published: L. Burchard, *Berlin Jahrbuch*, 1929, p. 324. One of the masterpieces among Rubens' portraits, painted in Genoa (Fig. 3). He painted another portrait of Brigitta Spinola, sitting, of which three versions exist, all executed to the greatest extent by the artist himself. Duveen Brothers, New York.
6. FRANCESCO GONZAGA, DUKE OF MANTUA. 1606-08. From Coll. of Charles I. Remarkably free in execution and brilliant in color (Fig. 8). Reproduced: *Burlington Magazine*, XXXIX (1921), 284. A portrait of Francesco Gonzaga, painted at the same time by Frans Pourbus the Younger is in the Legion of Honour Museum, San Francisco (no attribution). Mrs. Henry Goldman, New York.
- 6a. Smaller version in the G. H. A. Clowes Coll., Indianapolis. Detroit 18.
7. NATIVITY. 1607-08. *Modello* for the Fermo (Umbria) altarpiece with considerable changes in detail. Caravaggiesque but of great originality in design and strong in color. Hitherto unpublished (Fig. 1). Erick W. Bergmann, Monroe, Mich.
8. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN. Three-quarter length, orange costume. Copy after Paolo Veronese. About 1600-03. Koetser Gallery, New York.
9. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN. Three-quarter length. After Titian's *Woman with Fur* in Vienna. About 1600-03. Thannhauser Gallery, New York.

III ANTWERP (1609-15)

- 10, 11. PORTRAITS OF THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT AND THE INFANTA ISABELLA. About 1609. From Morosini Family. One of the earliest versions of the two famous portraits of which other examples exist in the Vienna Museum, the London National Gallery, the Thyssen Coll., Lugano (Archduke alone) etc. See Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, 1933. The considerable changes of details (faces, hands, ornaments) indicate that Rubens painted more than one version himself, as happened with some of his portraits executed in Italy (see No. 5). The portrait of Isabella is closely related in style to these portraits of the Italian period. E. and A. Silberman, New York.
12. PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA ISABELLA. Standing, three-quarter length. About 1610. Formerly Wanamaker Coll., Philadelphia (Fig. 7). Julius Weitzner, New York.
13. THE HOLY FAMILY WITH A DOVE. About 1609-10. One of the most important compositions of the period painted soon after Rubens' return from Italy. Detroit 1. Frederick Mont, New York.
14. THE HOLY FAMILY WITH A DOVE. About 1609-10. *Modello* for No. 13. Detroit 36. Mrs. William H. Moore, New York.

15. HEADS OF TWO CHURCH FATHERS. Study for the *Disputa* in St. Paul's Church, Antwerp, 1609. Belongs to the most impressive study heads of this period. Detroit 8. Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot, New York. (Lent to Metropolitan Museum.)
16. MULAY AHMAD, KING OF TUNIS. After Vermeyen. About 1610. Published: J. Held, *Art Quarterly*, III (1940), 173-180. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
17. PORTRAIT OF A LADY. Three-quarter length. About 1610. Formerly Mrs. Henry Walters Coll., Baltimore. Frederick Mont, New York.
18. SAMSON AND DELILAH. Brilliant study, formerly attributed to Van Dyck. About 1610. Detroit 37. Art Institute of Chicago.
19. THE ELEVATION OF THE CROSS. About 1610. *Modello* for the triptych in Antwerp Cathedral. Detroit 38. Art Gallery of Toronto, Canada.
- 19a. HEAD OF CHRIST. About 1610. Attitude similar to head in *Elevation of the Cross*. Engraved (with addition of mantle around the shoulders) by P. Dannoot. Rooses 271. Lent by J. F. Lynch to Los Angeles Museum.
20. STUDY OF AN OLD MAN WITH LONG BEARD (engraved under the questionable title: *Old Parr*). About 1610-12. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.
21. CRUCIFIXION. About 1610-12. Workshop paintings: (a) Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.; (b) Samuel H. Kress, New York. Schaeffer 7.
22. YOUNG COUPLE (possibly portraits of Jordaens and his wife). About 1610. From Robert D. Evans Coll. A.L.C. 4. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
23. PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. Bust, in painted oval. About 1610. Frederick W. Schumacher Coll. On indefinite loan to Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio.
24. PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN. Dated 1611. Detroit 20. Arthur U. Newton, New York.
25. ROMULUS AND REMUS. About 1612. Detroit 2. Brought to America in 1794. The two children appear first in the sketch of *The Education of the Virgin*, Liechtenstein Gallery; later in other Rubens compositions. After studying the painting representing Romulus and Remus in the Svenonius Coll., Stockholm, which considerably precedes the painting in the Capitoline Museum (the rug in the foreground is the same as in our No. 13), I am inclined to believe that it is that much more dramatic composition which Rubens kept in his own possession and not the present one, which seems to have been painted in his workshop. C. B. C. Carey, Silver Springs, Maryland (1936).
26. STUDY OF AN OLD MAN WITH LONG BEARD. About 1610-12. Detroit 10. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
27. STUDY HEAD OF A BOY. Turned left. About 1611. A somewhat similar type was used for St. John in *The Descent from the Cross*, Antwerp Cathedral. Parke Bernet sale, New York, 1946, Private Coll., Los Angeles.
28. PAUL AND BARNABAS AT LYSTRA. Sketch. About 1612. A.L.C. 3. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
29. STUDY OF BEARDED MAN. Right hand visible. Brilliant in execution. About 1610-12. From Duke of Saxony-Meiningen Coll. Los Angeles County Museum, Paul R. Mabury Coll.
30. THE TRIBUTE MONEY. About 1611-12. From L. Koppel Coll., Berlin. *K.d.K.*, p. 55; *Art Quarterly*, VII (1944), 147. Excellent original, mostly from Rubens' own hand. Other versions in the Louvre and in the Museum of Sidney, Australia. M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.
31. THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY. About 1611-13. Detroit 3. Workshop version of painting in Brussels Museum. Oscar B. Cintas, New York.
32. HEAD OF A MONK. Turned to left, eyes raised. About 1612-15. Suida 225. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.
33. ARCHDUKE ALBERT. Bust, half-turned to right. No other version is known. Art Market, New York (1942).
34. ST. PETER. About 1612-13. Detroit 15. Workshop. Mrs. William R. Timken, New York.
35. PAUSIAS AND GLYCERA. About 1613. Flowers by Jan Bruegel the Elder. Figures mostly from Rubens' own hand. From the Duke of Westminster Coll. *K.d.K.*, p. 67; Suida 222. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.



*Fig. 1. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Nativity
Monroe, Mich., Erick W. Bergmann Collection*



*Fig. 2. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Anne of Austria
New York Art Market*



*Fig. 3. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Marchesa Brigitta Spinola-Doria
New York Art Market*

36. STUDY OF BEARDED MAN. Profile to right. About 1613-15. Detroit 11. Denver Art Museum.
37. STUDY OF BEARDED MAN. Profile to left. About 1613-15. Same model as No. 36. From the Duke of Oldenburg Coll. Charles V. Hickox, New York.
38. PORTRAIT OF A BEARDED MAN HOLDING PRAYERBOOK. Bust. About 1614. Detroit 21. Ludwig Bendix, Rye, L. I.
39. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN HOLDING PRAYERBOOK. Bust. About 1614. Companion piece to No. 38. Charles F. Williams, Cincinnati, Ohio.
40. FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. About 1614. Mostly executed by pupils. Engraved by Lucas Vorsterman, 1620. From Charles Butler Coll. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.
41. MELEAGER AND ATALANTE. About 1613-15. Masterly executed composition. Repetition of almost equal quality in Cassel Gallery (*K.d.K.*, p. 101). From Henry Goldman Coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
42. GIRL EMBRACED BY MAN. Half-length figures. About 1615. The head of the girl was engraved by P. Pontius in Rubens' *Livre à dessiner*. E. and A. Silberman, New York.
43. PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. Said to be Rockox. Bust, turned to left. About 1614-15. From L. Knaus Coll., Berlin. *K.d.K.*, p. 81. Roland L. Taylor Coll., Philadelphia.
44. ROMULUS AND REMUS. Sketch. About 1615. *A.L.C.* 7. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
45. THE HOLY FAMILY. About 1615. (a) W. H. Crocker Coll., San Francisco; (b) City Art Museum of St. Louis (gift of Edward A. Faust). Workshop. Detroit 4.
46. HYGEIA OR CLEOPATRA. About 1615. Excellent original by Rubens' own hand. Second version of inferior quality in Schloss Raudnitz (*K.d.K.*, p. 71). Published: E. P. Richardson, *Bulletin*, Detroit Institute of Arts, XXV, No. 1 (1946), p. 9. Detroit Institute of Arts (gift of Henry Reichhold).
47. THE WOLF AND FOX HUNT. About 1615. Pupil work to a great extent (animals by Snyders). *A.L.C.* 8. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
48. MADONNA AND CHILD. Three-quarter length. The Child is embracing His Mother. About 1615. Excellent original. From Maurice Kann and Friedsam Colls. Another version in the Hermitage (*K.d.K.*, p. 102). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
49. SELF-PORTRAIT. Head. Used for double portrait of Rubens and Van Dyck in Louvre (Schlichting Coll.). About 1615. Pupil work. Detroit 23. Mrs. William R. Timken, New York.
50. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. Bust, right hand under cloak. About 1615. *A.L.C.* 5. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan).
51. PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. About 1615. Detroit 22. G. H. A. Clowes, Indianapolis, Indiana.
52. DAVID KILLING GOLIATH. About 1615. Executed with help of pupils. From Leuchtenberg Coll. Parke Bernet sale, New York, 1946 (sold to South American collector).
53. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL. Busts. Painted for Antwerp Cathedral in 1620. Dr. Rudolf Heinemann, Mount Kisko, New York.
54. ST. BEGA. About 1615-20. Right figure from painting in Vienna Museum (St. Pipin and St. Bega). A. Rabinowitch, New York (Cat. L. Venturi).

IV ANTWERP, PARIS, BRUSSELS (1616-1625)

55. ISABELLA BRANT HOLDING FLOWERS IN HER HANDS. About 1616. Published: W. G. Constable, Boston *Bulletin*, Feb., 1939, p. 2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
56. THE HEAD OF CYRUS BROUGHT TO TOMYRIS. About 1622-23. The most important large composition of this period in America, brilliant in color, executed with the help of pupils. From Lord Darnley and Lord Lascelles Colls. Published: C. C. Cunningham, Boston *Bulletin*, June, 1941, pp. 35-40. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
57. LOT AND HIS FAMILY LEAVING SODOM. About 1615-16. Beautiful composition, executed with help of pupils. Suida 221. From Duke of Marlborough and Charles Butler Colls. *K.d.K.*, p. 105. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.
58. THE ASSYRIAN KING. Bust, holding cup. Autographic repetition of part of Malines

- Altarpiece, painted by Rubens for Balthasar Moretus, 1618. Detroit 13. From Charles H. Senff and Chester Dale Colls. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
59. THE GREEK KING. Bust, holding gold bowl. 1618. Companion piece to No. 58. From Charles H. Senff Coll., New York, sold March, 1928. Present owner unknown.
60. HEAD OF AN OLD MAN. Turned to left, looking down. About 1618. Same model as in No. 59. Clarence Y. Palitz, New York.
61. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. About 1617. Colorful study for Malines Altarpiece (K.d.K. 164). Detroit 42. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
62. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA BEFORE PORSENA. 1617. Grisaille study for painting in Budapest Museum. Schaeffer 14. Frederick A. Stern, New York.
63. THE FEAST OF ACHELAUS. Landscape and accessories by Jan Bruegel the Elder. About 1617. From Samuel Untermeyer Coll. A.L.C. 10; Detroit 5. Subject identified by J. Held, *Art Quarterly*, IV (1941), 122-133. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
64. CHRIST DESCENDING TO EARTH. About 1615-20. Excellent, carefully executed study. From Albert Keller Coll., New York. Detroit 39. Dr. Ernst Schwarz, New York.
65. MAN IN ARMOR. Bust. About 1618-20. Brilliantly executed. Published: J. Dodge, *Art Quarterly* V (1942), 187-8. Mrs. Louis F. Hyde, Glens Falls, New York.
66. MARS. Half-length. About 1620. Schaeffer 8. Samuel H. Kress, New York.
67. ISABELLA BRANT. Right hand upon chest. About 1620. Painting of extraordinary quality. From Koppel Coll., Berlin. S. Rosenberg, New York.
68. MADONNA AND CHILD. About 1618. Same composition as left wing from triptych painted for tomb of Jan Michielsens (1617) in Antwerp Museum. (a) Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D. C. From Duke of Marlborough Coll. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, 836. (b) Mrs. E. Katzenellenbogen. From Duke of Cumberland Coll. Exhibited on loan, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.
69. THE HOLY FAMILY. About 1615-20. Engraved by L. Vorsterman (with different background). Excellent original (Fig. 5). Another version in Charles Butler Coll. (Roses 227). Julius Weitzner, New York.
70. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI. Sketch for painting at Munich. About 1619. Formerly Sir William van Horne, Montreal, Canada.
71. RISEN CHRIST SITTING ON HIS TOMB. About 1620. Sketch, apparently original. From Demidoff Coll. (photo in Frick Library). Formerly Brooklyn Museum, stolen in 1933.
72. THE MEETING OF DAVID AND ABIGAIL. About 1618. Executed with help of pupils but retouched freely by Rubens. W. R. Valentiner, *Art in America*, X (August, 1922), 203-204. Detroit 6. Detroit Institute of Arts.
73. ST. MICHAEL. About 1620. Study for destroyed ceiling painting in Jesuit Church in Antwerp. Detroit 43. Detroit Institute of Arts.
74. HERCULES AND THE LION. Sketch. About 1620. Detroit 44. Dr. Charles Kuhn, Cambridge, Mass.
75. STUDY OF PRAYING HANDS. Oil on paper. About 1620-25. Erick W. Bergmann, Monroe, Mich.
76. ST. ALBERT. About 1620. Study, probably for lost ceiling painting in church of St. Charles Borromée, Antwerp. Schaeffer 16. Leo Collins, New York.
77. PORTRAIT OF DANIEL NIJS. Art Collector. Bust, right hand visible. About 1620. Same sitter represented in three-quarter length portrait by Van Dyck in London National Gallery (K.d.K., p. 129), which recently has been erroneously claimed to be a portrait of Rubens, because the head was engraved with this designation by Jan de Visscher, end of 17th century (see H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk*, 1943, p. 341). Schaeffer 9. Benno M. Bechhold, New York.
78. HEAD OF A NEGRO. Looking down to left. About 1620. Brilliant study. Mrs. Louis F. Hyde, Glens Falls, N. Y.
79. THE EMBLEM OF CHRIST APPEARING TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE. Sketch. About 1621-22. A.L.C. 14. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
80. LOUIS XIII, KING OF FRANCE (1601-43). Three-quarter length. About 1624-25. Detroit 25. Coll. of German Emperor, Palace of Charlottenburg. Duveen Bros., New York.



*Fig. 4. PETER PAUL RUBENS, **Annunciation**
New York Art Market*



*Fig. 5. PETER PAUL RUBENS, **The Holy Family**
New York Art Market*



*Fig. 6. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Susanne Fourment
New York, David Bingham Collection*

81. ANNE OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF FRANCE. About 1624-25. Companion piece to No. 80, same provenance (Fig. 2). Duveen Bros., New York.
82. VLADISLAS IV. KING OF POLAND (1595-1648). 1624. Executed partly by pupils. Detroit 26. From Havemeyer Coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
83. ST. NORBERT OVERWHELMING TANCHELM. 1624. Grisaille study for one of the three marble statues on altar in St. Michel Abbey at Antwerp. Schaeffer 17. Otto Gerson, New York.
84. STUDY FOR THE EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. About 1625. Detroit 27; Schaeffer 18. Art Institute, Zanesville, Ohio.
85. SELF-PORTRAIT. About 1625. Detroit 28. Two other versions in Uffizi and Windsor. André de Coppet, New York.
86. CLARA SERENA. The Artist's daughter (born in 1611). About 1625. One of the most charming children portraits of the artist. Detroit 29; Schaeffer 16a. Charles Ulrich Bay, New York.

V ANTWERP, PARIS, HOLLAND, MADRID, LONDON, BRUSSELS (1626-1632)

87. MARQUIS AMBROGIO SPINOLA. About 1625-27. (a) Three-quarter length. Another version of equal quality in Braunschweig Museum. Detroit 30. City Art Museum of St. Louis, Mo. (b) Half-length (mostly workshop). Art Institute of Chicago. (c) Half-length (workshop). Detroit 31. Dr. H. N. Torey, Detroit, Mich. The painting attributed to Rubens in the Historical Society, New York, and another version of the same portrait, given to the school of Rubens and called *Ambrogio Spinola*, in the Frick Coll. have little to do with Rubens and do not represent Spinola. The first one is to my mind an original by Van Dyck of his second Antwerp period; the other (restored and therefore more impressive in certain parts, especially in the costume) is a repetition from Van Dyck's workshop.
88. QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMVS AND MINUCIVS RUFVS. Sketch. About 1625. Schaeffer 19. Private Coll., New York.
89. THETIS AND ATHENE. Sketch. About 1625. Schaeffer 20. Dr. Hans Arnhold, New York.
90. ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. Grisaille. Sketch. About 1625. Koetser Gallery, New York.
91. HENRY OF NAVARRE RECEIVING THE CROWN OF FRANCE. Sketch for painting intended for Galerie Henri IV, Luxembourg Palace. About 1627-31. Schaeffer 21. Private Coll., New York.
92. MADONNA OF THE ROSARY. About 1627. Study for altarpiece of Dominican Church in Lierre (now Hermitage). Schaeffer 22. Private Coll., Princeton, N. J.
93. RECONCILIATION OF JACOB AND ESAU. Sketch. About 1627. Reproduced: *American Magazine of Art*, XXX (June, 1940), 340. Durlacher Bros., New York.
94. THE ISRAELITES GATHERING MANNA IN THE DESERT. About 1625-28. One of four large paintings, mostly executed by pupils, intended to be used for a set of tapestries ordered by the Infanta Isabella for the Clarisse Convent at Madrid. First sketches in Cambridge, England; enlarged *modelli* in the Prado (*K.d.K.* 292-299). Two large paintings, belonging to the present set of four, in the Louvre. From the Duke of Westminster Coll. Suida 215. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.
95. ABRAHAM RECEIVING BREAD AND WINE FROM MELCHISEDEK. About 1625-28. Reproduced: *K.d.K.*, p. 295. Belonging to set of four (see No. 94). Small workshop repetition in John G. Johnson Art Coll., Philadelphia Museum. (*A.L.C.* 24). Suida 216. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.
96. THE FOUR EVANGELISTS. About 1625-28. Belonging to set of four (see No. 94). Suida 217. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.
97. THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH AND OTHER SAINTS, DEFENDERS OF THE DOGMA OF THE HOLY SACRAMENT. About 1625-28. Belonging to set of four (see No. 94). Suida 218. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.

98. TRIUMPH OF SACRAMENT OVER HERESY. About 1625-28. Studio copy. *A.L.C.* 25. Cleveland Museum of Art.
99. HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. FRANCIS. About 1625-26. Three versions known, all executed with help of pupils; the version at Windsor Castle is reproduced in *K.d.K.*, p. 285. (a) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *A.L.C.* 41. (b) Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego (gift of Mrs. Timken).
100. MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS. Sketch. About 1628. Study for altarpiece in Church of St. Augustine, Antwerp. Other studies for same altarpiece in the Berlin and Frankfurt Museums. Detroit 47. M. Knoedler and Company, New York.
101. ST. CECILIA PLAYING THE SPINET. About 1627. Executed with help of pupils. Engraved by W. Panneels and A. Lommelin. *A.L.C.* 19; *Roses* 404. From Beurnonville and Havemeyer Colls. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
102. ANNUNCIATION. Life-size figures. About 1628. Said to have been painted for the Marquis de Legañes. From Count Altamira Coll., descendent of Legañes (*Roses* 145) (Fig. 4). Paul Graupe, New York.
103. CHRIST TRIUMPHANT OVER DEATH AND SIN. About 1625-28. Excellent study for lost altarpiece (*Roses* 380). From the King of Belgium and A. de Ridder Colls. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan).
104. ENTRY OF HENRY IV INTO PARIS AFTER BATTLE OF IVRY. About 1628-31. Study of exceptional quality for painting in Uffizi. From John W. Simpson Coll. *A.L.C.* 21. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
105. ISABELLA OF BOURBON. Wife of Philip IV of Spain. About 1628-29. Studies for paintings in Munich and Hermitage. (a) Bust without hands. From Quincy Shaw Coll., Boston. E. and A. Silberman, New York. (b) Bust. The Queen holds the miniature portrait of Philip IV in her hands. Schaeffer 11. Private Coll., New York.
106. VALLEY OF MANZANARES. 1628. Painted in Spain, used for background of *Philip IV* in Uffizi (Glück, *De landschappen van Rubens*, Antwerp, 1940; H. G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk*, 1943, p. 322). *A.L.C.* 39. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
107. THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL. Three-quarter length. About 1629-30. *A.L.C.* 22. Reproduced: *K.d.K.*, p. 288 (erroneously as *Heinrich van den Bergh*). Brush drawing, a study for this portrait in a private coll., London (Glück-Haberditzl 178). Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.
108. DR. TURQUET DE MAYERNE. About 1630. *Roses* 213; Detroit 32; Schaeffer 12. James Aspell, New York.
109. NICOLAES RUBENS. Half-length. About 1630. One of the most charming portraits of Rubens' favorite son Nicolaes (born in 1615). Detroit 33. Max Epstein, Chicago.
110. ALEXANDER AND ROXANE. About 1630. Detroit 51 (as *The Crowning of Venus by Mars*). Study for lost painting of which workshop copy exists in Dessau (reproduced: Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk*, p. 290). Probably identical with painting mentioned by Evers (p. 269) as being in Adamo-Vics and Franz von Reisin Colls., Vienna. The present painting is on panel, not on canvas as stated in the *Detroit Catalogue*. John Bass, New York, sold Park Bernet, 1945.
111. THE FAMILY OF RUBENS. Sketch. About 1630. *A.L.C.* 26. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
112. ADORATION OF THE KINGS. (panel 30.4 x 41½ in.) About 1630. Unpublished. Brilliant composition influenced by Titian. Koetser Gallery, New York.

VI ANTWERP (1632-40)

113. BRISEIS RESTORED TO ACHILLES. About 1630-32. One of eight studies for tapestry set (*Life of Achilles*) painted for Charles I of England and woven in 1662. (Six of the studies are in the Rotterdam Museum.) A school repetition in the former Jacob H. Schiff Coll. Detroit 45; Schaeffer 23. Edgar B. Whitcomb, Detroit.
114. THETIS PLUNGING ACHILLES INTO THE STYX. About 1630-32. Subject belonging to same series as No. 113. Enlarged (studio) painting of which first sketch belongs to the eight studies mentioned above. From Dr. Stillwell Coll. (*A.L.C.* 27.) Suida 224. John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Fla.



Fig. 7. PETER PAUL RUBENS, *Portrait of the Infanta Isabella*
New York Art Market



Fig. 8. PETER PAUL RUBENS, *Francesco Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua*
New York, Mrs. Henry Goldman Collection



*Fig. 9. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Venus and Adonis
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*

115. ST. THERESA PRAYING FOR SOULS IN PURGATORY. About 1630-33. Excellent study for painting in Antwerp Museum. From the King of Belgium Coll. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan).
116. ALLEGORY OF THE REUNION OF ENGLAND TO SCOTLAND. About 1630-35. Masterly study for ceiling of Banqueting Hall, Whitehall, London. Detroit 52. Institute of Art, Minneapolis.
117. PEACE AND PLENTY. About 1630-35. Brilliant study for Whitehall. From L. Koppel Coll., Berlin. *K.d.K.* 336. Paul Klotz, New York.
118. MERCURY AND ARGUS. About 1635. Study, probably executed for one of the paintings intended to decorate the hunting pavilion of Philip IV, the Torre de la Parada, near Madrid (W. G. Constable, Boston *Bulletin*, Oct., 1942). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
119. NESSUS AND DEJANIRA. About 1635. Study for one of the paintings in the Torre de la Parada. Schaeffer 27. Dr. Hans Arnhold, New York.
120. DAEDALUS AND ICARUS. About 1635. Probably study for one of the paintings in the Torre de la Parada. *A.L.C.* 30. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
121. THE MARRIAGE OF THETIS AND PELEUS. About 1635. Detroit 58; *K.d.K.*, p. 394. Study for one of the paintings in the Torre de la Parada. From Heseltine Coll. Charles H. Worcester, Chicago.
122. HERCULES AND THE LION. About 1635. Probably study for one of the paintings in the Torre de la Parada. Acquired from Anthony Reyre. Los Angeles County Museum.
123. CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. About 1633. Study for painting in Berlin Museum. *K.d.K.* 341. Private Coll., Worcester, Mass.
124. QUOS EGO. About 1634-35. Brilliant sketch for large painting at Dresden which belonged to the set of decorations painted for the entrance of Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand of Austria into Antwerp (J. Rosenberg, *Bulletin* of the Fogg Museum of Art, Nov., 1942, pp. 5-14). From S. Kramarsky Coll. Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass.
125. MEETING OF FERDINAND OF HUNGARY AND CARDINAL-INFANT FERDINAND AT NORDLINGEN. About 1634-35. Sketch for large painting at Vienna, belonging to same series as No. 124. Schaeffer 24. S. Kramarsky, New York.
126. TRIUMPH OF EUCHARIST. About 1634-35. Probably sketch for one of the paintings painted for entrance of Ferdinand of Austria into Antwerp. Art Institute of Chicago, Martin A. Ryerson Coll.
127. ALLEGORY OF ETERNITY. About 1635. Sketch for one of a set of tapestries, executed for Monastery Descalzas Reales, Madrid. Schaeffer 25. Jacob Heimann, New York.
128. HOLY FAMILY. About 1630-35. Painted for the Barefoot Nuns at Madrid; engraved by Witdoeck. A workshop repetition in the Cook Coll., Richmond (*K.d.K.*, p. 342). Koetser Gallery, New York.
129. HOLY FAMILY. About 1630-35. Sketch for No. 128. Shows on lap of St. Anne the little St. John, who is missing in the finished painting. Another sketch in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna. Detroit 54. A Seligman, Rey and Company, New York.
130. APOTHEOSIS OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. About 1635. Study for ceiling painting at Osterley Park (Lord Jersey Coll.). Another study with different arrangement in central part in London National Gallery. Schaeffer 26. Anthony Reyre, New York.
131. NYMPH AND SATYR. About 1635. Carefully executed study for large painting, full-length figures. Jacob Goldschmidt, New York.
132. THE DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS FINDING THE INFANT ERICHTHONIUS. About 1635-37. Part of a large painting which was cut down in the 18th century. Entirely from Rubens' own hand. W. Stechow, *Art Quarterly* VII (1944), 297. Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio.
133. THE WOUNDED STAG. Sketch. About 1635. *A.L.C.* 31. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.
134. CARDINAL-INFANT FERDINAND IN ARMOR. Half-length. 1635. *K.d.K.*, p. 376. Another version in A. Neuerberg Coll., Hamburg. J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.
135. CARDINAL-INFANT FERDINAND. Bust, oval. Usually dated 1635, but more probably painted in Spain in 1628, as the Cardinal looks younger than in No. 134. Formerly Von Nemes

and Oberlaender Colls. Detroit 35. Frederick W. Schumacher Coll. On indefinite loan to Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio.

136. CARDINAL-INFANT FERDINAND AT BATTLE OF NORDLINGEN. Half life-size. About 1635. Study for life-size equestrian portrait in the Prado. (a) First version on panel. Formerly Marquis of Bristol Coll. Koetser Gallery, New York. (b) Second version on canvas. Mortimer Brandt, New York.

137. TWO COWS. About 1635. Study painted in connection with *Landscape with a Rainbow* in Munich. A.L.C. 38. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.

138. LANDSCAPE WITH AN AVENUE OF TREES. Oil on paper. About 1635 (or earlier?). From Jabach Coll. (Inventory of 1696.) W. G. Constable, *Boston Bulletin*, Oct., 1944, pp. 59-61. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

139. LANDSCAPE WITH PHILEMON AND BAUCIS. About 1635. Smaller workshop repetition of Vienna painting. A.L.C. 40. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.

140. SUSANNE FOURMENT. Half-length figure holding fan in left hand. About 1636-38. Subtle color composition (silvery-gray, purple, black) of last years (Fig. 6). Schaeffer 10. David Bingham, New York.

141. RETURN OF THE SABINES. Sketch. About 1638. A.L.C. 37. The painting thought to be a companion piece in the Widener Coll. (A.L.C. 36) is not by Rubens. Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Art Coll.

142. VENUS AND ADONIS. About 1639. One of the most beautiful of Rubens' late compositions and almost completely by his own hand, even in such details as dogs and landscape (Fig. 9). Painted at the same time as *Meleager and Atalante* in Munich (K.d.K., p. 331) which, although of different shape, is in subject a sort of companion piece. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of H. P. Bingham).

ABBREVIATIONS

K.d.K.: *Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed., revised by Rudolf Oldenbourg, 1921.

A.L.C.: W. R. Valentiner, *Art of the Low Countries*, 1914, "List of Works by Rubens in American Collections," pp. 235-237.

Detroit: *Exhibition of Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1936 (Catalogue prepared by W. R. Valentiner).

Schaeffer: *Peter Paul Rubens, Loan Exhibition*, Schaeffer and Brandt, Inc., New York, 1942.

Berlin Jahrbuch: *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*.

Boston Bulletin: *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston.

Rooes: *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens*, 1886-92.

Glück-Haberditzl: G. Glück and F. M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von P. P. Rubens*, Berlin, 1928.

Suida: Manuscript Catalogue of Ringling Collection.

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN AND
EUROPEAN COLLECTIONS



ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Portrait of the R. F. Jean-Charles della Faille*
Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts

THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

THE DELLA FAILLE DE LEVERGHEM DONATION AT THE ROYAL MUSEUMS OF BRUSSELS

By Paul Fierens

(translation by Liselotte Moser)

By a deed signed at the Palais of Brussels on the 20th of March, 1942, Count Georges della Faille de Leverghem donated to the Royal Belgian Museums his collection consisting of thirty-seven paintings, chiefly Flemish and Dutch. This collection, perhaps the most important ever presented to the Belgian state, is composed on the one hand of family portraits, on the other of parts of several collections formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Antwerp art-lover Edouard Peters and his descendants or relatives.

During the German occupation the Della Faille gift remained in the shelters of the Musée d'Art ancien in Brussels. After the liberation, a special gallery was prepared to receive it, and in January, 1946, this gallery was formally opened in the presence of the son and the close friends of the generous donor who had died shortly before.

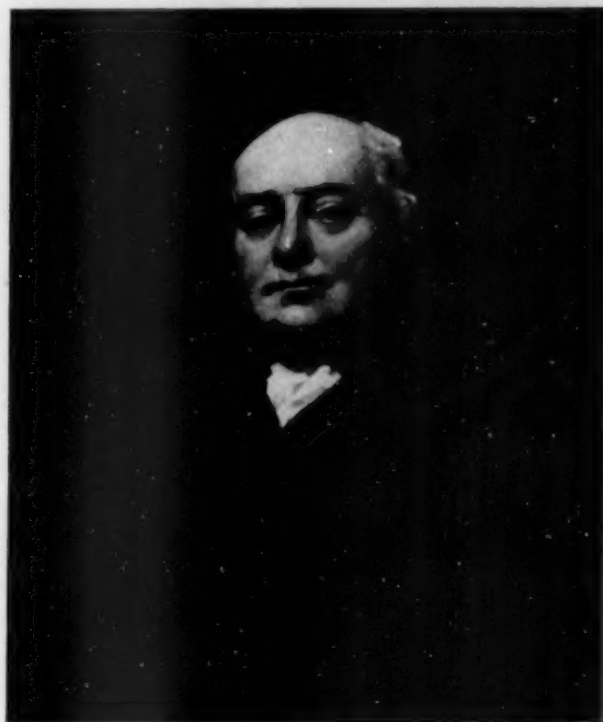
Three portraits by Van Dyck would suffice to give international renown to the Della Faille collection and it is naturally around them that the whole collection is grouped. The most perfect, the most distinguished and the most penetrating of these portraits is that of the R. F. Jean-Charles della Faille (1597-1652), who was one of the luminaries of the Society of Jesus and who, at the court of Madrid, became the cosmographer of the East India Company.

R. F. Della Faille is represented sitting near a table on which his working instruments and a celestial sphere are disposed. He holds a compass in his right hand and shows off the elegance of his left; he looks at us out of eyes sparkling with intelligence and alight also with the flame of spirituality. One can sense the ascetic underneath the exterior of the savant and gentleman.

In a corner of the canvas one notices the inscription *A^o 1629 Aetatis Suae 32*, which seems to have been added after the event and is not by the hand of Van Dyck. But the date 1629 is quite acceptable, since it corresponds to the year in which the R. F. della Faille left Antwerp in order to teach mathematics at the Imperial College in Madrid. Philip IV, King of Spain, later was to call him to his court and to entrust to him the scientific education of his son, the Infant Don Juan d'Austria.

The portrait of the Jesuit is assuredly one of the best specimens of Van Dyck's Flemish manner; it was painted during his second Antwerp period. And since Van Dyck was less well represented at the Brussels Museum than his great rivals Rubens and Jordaens, the acquisition of this work is a most important and gratifying enrichment of the public collections of the Capital.

This "classic" Van Dyck, sober, aristocratic and supremely elegant, has found great favor in the eyes of the public. Let us wager, however, that certain artists will find a more warmly pictorial flavor in the *Portrait of an Old Man* which hangs in its vicinity. This is a work of the first Antwerp period of Van Dyck, painted around 1620: the sanguine and rather plebeian face is presented in a broad and vigorous manner which one might call Rubensian. The third Van Dyck of the Della Faille collection is the *Portrait of an Elderly Lady*, which has been thought to represent the wife of the subject of the second painting, but it is



Donald Smith by Sir Henry Raeburn
1756-1823

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EDGAR DEGAS, *Frieze of Dancers*
The Cleveland Museum of Arts

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of a different, more restrained and more developed style. This portrait should probably be placed in the years between the *Portrait of an Old Man* and that of the Jesuit. Thus three phases of the development of Van Dyck before his departure for England are illustrated by three characteristic works of remarkable quality.

Among the other paintings in the Della Faille donation must be mentioned the charming *Madonna* by an Antwerp master of the beginning of the sixteenth century, whom the scholars have called the Master with the Parrot, and who in his modeling, in his delicate *sfumato*, has kept something of the suavity of the later followers of Gerard David. This gracious picture is exhibited between a *Portrait of a Man*, attributed to Lucas Cranach, and a *Portrait of a Woman* (1579), which is believed to be of the English school.

The main part of the Della Faille gift consists of the Flemish and Dutch paintings of small dimensions, of which the following deserve particular mention: the *Three Riders*, by Aelbert Cuyp, a choice work with luminous grays, exquisite beiges and a splendid great sky; a *Marine* by Van Goyen, the serenity of which contrasts with the fantasy and lyricism of the *Oriental Port* by Bonaventura Peeters; a *Still-life* by Jan D. De Heem, an excellent specimen of its kind; a *Forest Landscape* by David Vinckeboons which is characteristic of a curious state of *plein air* painting between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, still archaic and already baroque; the *Watermill* by Simon de Vlieger; and finally a bright and meticulous *Landscape* by the "son, student and imitator" of Jan (Velvet) Brueghel: Jan Brueghel II.

The Royal Art Museums of Belgium, happily spared by the war, have been the first in the formerly occupied parts of Europe to reopen their doors and to show their collections in their entirety. The addition of the Della Faille gift reinforces the representation, at Brussels, of certain little masters, either rare or who up to this time did not figure in the catalogue of the Musée d'Art ancien. And one may say that there Van Dyck the portraitist now occupies the position he deserves.

DEGAS' FRIEZE OF DANCERS

From an article by Henry Sayles Francis in the
Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

As an outgrowth of the independence born of the political and intellectual upheaval in the late eighteenth century in France, the style of expression in all the literary and plastic arts in the nineteenth century was personal, non-conforming, and independent. And among the painters none expressed this freedom with greater clarity—at once disciplined—than did Degas.

Around 1880, in the midst of his career, Degas painted a large canvas called variously, "Frieze of Dancers" or "Dancers Tying Their Slippers." This has now been added to the Museum collection as the fourth important accession from Hanna Fund. Degas sold his works reluctantly and only to the collector-dealer Durand-Ruel, who bought this extraordinary picture shortly after it had been done and sold it two or three years later to the contemporary German Impressionist painter, Max Liebermann. The latter took it to Berlin, where the picture remained in comparative obscurity in the studio of that artist until 1932, when it was brought out of Germany to Paris. Prior to that time, the canvas had been seen only by those who knew Liebermann; he refused to lend it anywhere for exhibition. Thus, the picture has been seldom recorded.

Whatever else may be said about this canvas, in it are concentrated all the achievements of Degas' greatest work. The shape of the composition itself is one of the most difficult to

HOWARD YOUNG GALLERIES



OLD AND MODERN PAINTINGS

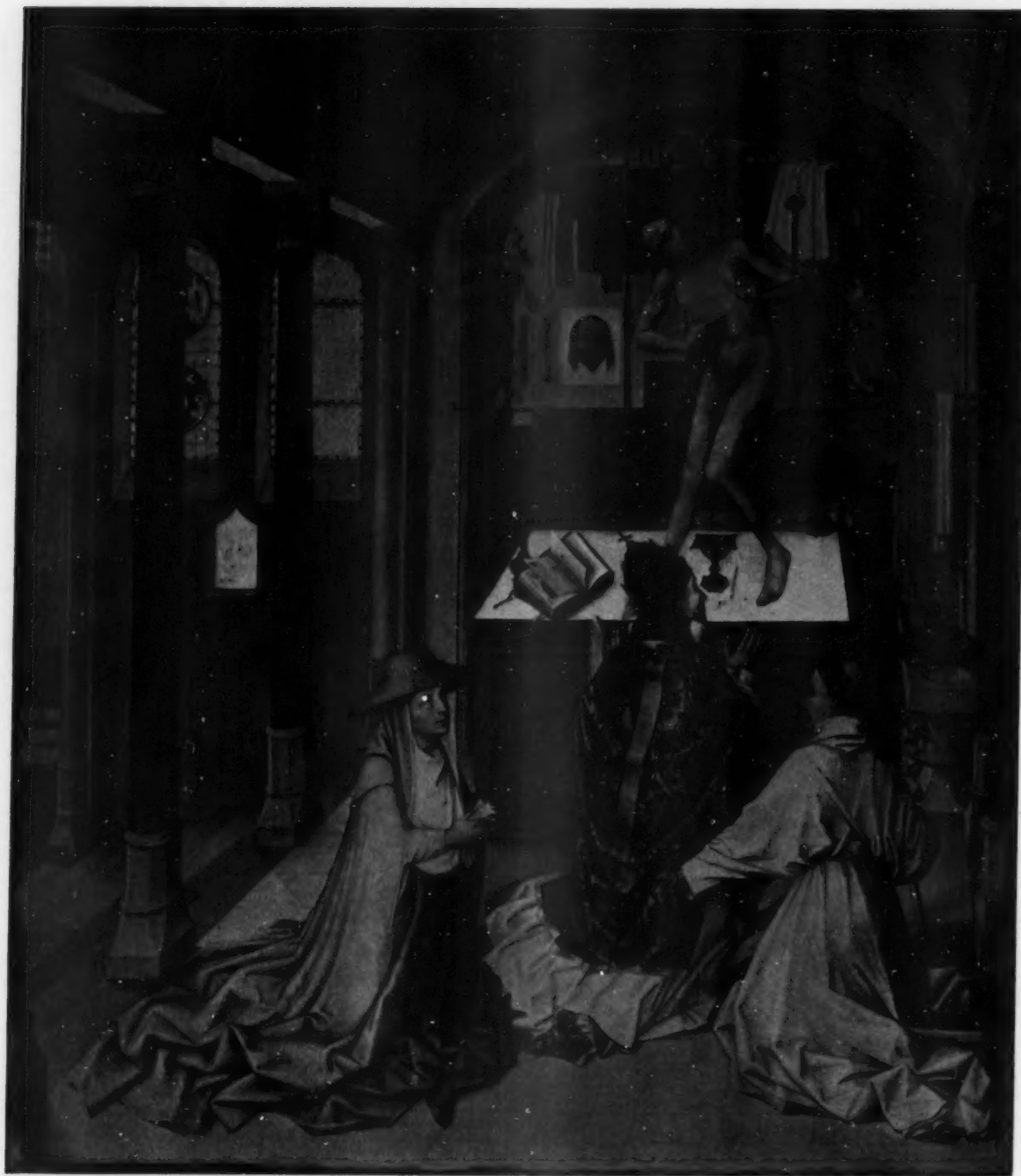


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*The Mass of St. Gregory, after the Master of Flémalle
Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts*

arrange, but Degas has succeeded dramatically. He has contrived it so that the sensory response of the onlooker's eyes moving across the canvas has the rhythm of music, an allegro movement on the left fading into an adagio on the right. Degas has represented space. He shows the dancers sitting in the wings, whose expanse is not visible on the canvas but is suggested in such a way that it is strongly felt. The four figures are in arrested movement, those on the left in conversation, those on the right, silent. The tactile form of the heads, arms, and legs of the girls is strongly evident; the sound structural actuality of their bending bodies, hidden under the gauze of the tulle, is accented by the artist's rapid linework in black. As for the color, the opalescent grays with violets and blues and pervaded by a grayish-brown infuse into the whole a smouldering dramatic effect which is heightened further by the arbitrary use of accents of green, which may indicate footlights; blotches of strong orange, used for the hair, integrate the whole composition. The manner in which one figure is connected with another is similar to that of the Greek frieze, as in the classic example of the Parthenon. The final impression is the same, constantly mobile and of infinite variety.

Born in Paris on June 19, 1834, Degas came of Breton stock on his father's side and Creole from New Orleans on his mother's. Studious and industrious, he excelled in his classical studies and even attempted the law. However, he early declared his intention of becoming a painter, a career to which he was enabled to devote the rest of his life, unimpeded by material worries.

In 1873 he went to New Orleans, yet this trip left no more specific imprint on his work than did various other sojourns in Spain, North Africa, Italy, or the Low Countries. Paris was his

milieu and he lived in it as a fastidious bourgeois who did not acquire the Bohemian stripe of the operatic and café-concert world which he frequented increasingly. By 1865 Degas had chosen as his exclusive field for subject matter the world of the race-course and the ballet, and the feminine nude. His prodigious optical memory aided him in his visits to the haunts of this transient world, the simplest members of whom he immortalized. As his life progressed, he became more and more solitary, leaving, though not repudiating, his early companions of the Impressionist movement, though his name had become firmly if erroneously connected with theirs. Towards the end of his career, especially after 1914 and World War I, he became a misanthropist. The War left him in despair and he died in anguish in September, 1917, unnoticed and without any official recognition, though honor was accorded to him tardily.

The gigantic stature of his art is the compound result of his having drawn from so many facets of nineteenth-century French painting. Underlying his style, perhaps the key to it, is the emphasis on drawing, the same basis upon which the Classicist Ingres built, but in the case of Degas it was not alone the structure of the object which interested him, but its structure in motion. With this rigorous discipline Degas combined the optical license typical of the Romantic School of Delacroix and used this unconventional approach with startling effects in his compositions. However, he subscribed no more wholly to the didactic tenets of Romanticism than he had to those of Impressionism. He considered that a pursuit such as the Impressionists' attempt to capture on canvas the aspects and changes of fugitive light should not be considered an end itself but only as one means of effecting a unified end. Acting as the unity which bound tonality, volume, and line together in Degas' paintings

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Semiramis, A Gothic Floral Tapestry with Personages
Honolulu Academy of Arts

was the fundamental element of the Classicist artist—form. To this compound Degas added several unique qualities: reflection on his observations, a process which filtered out the natural aspects of the subject and left a mentally conceived form; the dynamic use of line, so that stroke and counterstroke produced the "unexpectedness of instantaneity," a quality prevalent in the new Museum accession; deliberate disregard of obviously important focal centers in the composition and the use of oblique views which bring out the motion rather than the actuality of the objects; finally, a feeling for the sensuous aspect of the subject, so that all is suggested rather than positively recorded.

Liebermann quotes St. Augustine as saying that "all that is sensuous or beautiful, whether produced by Nature or by the artists' work, is beautiful through proportions of space or time—as, for instance, the living body and its movements. . . ." If there is any painter who has represented this ideal, it is Degas, "who has created works of Art mobile in space and time."

A "MASS OF ST. GREGORY" AFTER THE MASTER OF FLEMALLE AT THE ROYAL MUSEUMS OF BRUSSELS

By Paul Fierens (translation by Liselotte Moser)

Although the activity of the Royal Belgian Museums was among the most curtailed during the German occupation, a certain number of interesting works have been acquired in the course of this period, partly by the state alone, partly with the help of the "Friends of the Museums." Shortly after the armistice, the Musée d'Art ancien in Brussels exhibited fifteen paintings, of which three or four will take a definite place in the galleries, while the rest will be kept in the reserves, since their value is more of a documentary than of an artistic nature.

The most remarkable of these recent acquisitions is a panel from the end of the fifteenth century representing the *Mass of St. Gregory*. Two other versions of this composition are known, one in the Moreira collection at Lisbon and another, which was sold with the Weber collection in Hamburg in 1912 and is now in the collection of Dr. Ernst Schwarz, New York City. These two versions are mentioned by Friedländer (*Altniederländische Malerei*, II, no. 73), who shows a reproduction of the one now in the Schwarz collection, dated 1510. (See also, *Art Quarterly*, VIII (1945), 240). This date, however, does not correspond to the style, which would seem to be older. The panel was shown as No. 156 in the exhibition at Bruges in 1902.

The late Hulin de Loo wrote in his *Catalogue raisonné*: "This painting appears to be an excellent copy, perhaps after the Master of Flémalle." Friedländer expresses the same opinion. The architectural setting can indeed be compared with that of the Werl diptych and the *Marriage of the Virgin*, both in the Prado. The attitude of the kneeling pope too is found again in an accessory scene of the latter work. And the "dispersed" arrangement of the instruments of the Passion above the altar (juxtaposition rather than organic composition) is typical of the still-lives of the Master of Flémalle.

On the other hand we observe that the sculptured altarpiece depicted by the painter on the altar of the miracle, showing five scenes from the Passion with the Crucifixion in the center, is of a rather flowery style, of a picturesque and overcharged Gothic, which recalls that of the Brabant retables of the end of the fifteenth century and not that of sculptures which might have been known either to the young Rogier van der Weyden (if he was identical with the Master of Flémalle) or to any of his contemporaries. Should one believe that the copyist here deviated from his model and modernized this part of the scene?

The version of the *Mass of St. Gregory* recently acquired for



Infant Ferdinand 41" x 51" Peter Paul-Rubens
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the Brussels Museum differs in certain details from those described by Hulin de Loo and Friedländer. The painting in the Schwarz collection has at the left two windows embellished with stained glass, while in the one at Brussels, only one of these windows offers this peculiarity. Above the cross, beside the crown of thorns, our copy represents the bandage, which is absent in the Schwarz panel. The columns and the floor-flagging in the Brussels version are quite simple, which is the opposite of the variety, the richness of material of the same objects in the picture of the Schwarz collection. For the rest, the workmanship is rather dry, the precise drawing lacks freedom and emotion, and the coloring is light and cold.

One curious detail can be observed in the various replicas of this *Mass of St. Gregory*, a detail which, in the opinion of certain scholars, notably of Henry Hymans, would corroborate the hypothesis of the Tournai origin, or at least activity, of its inventor: the taper held by the acolyte at the right of the spectator is coiled on a stem and, if straightened out, would be of exceptional length. But in 1346, the inhabitants of Tournai pledged to the Virgin a candle which was to have the length of the great processional. Henry Hymans attached a certain importance to this story, but it is evident that the length of the taper in our picture would reach five or six metres at most. And it is not by the light of this strange taper that the problem of Robert Campin, the Master of Flémalle or Rogier van der Weyden will be cleared up!

On the other hand, the riddle of the *Mass of St. Gregory* might be solved on the day on which one could identify the cardinal who, kneeling at the left, witnesses the miracle of the appearance of Christ, without taking part in the scene. He is not an actor but a simple spectator, and probably the donor of the

picture. The figure is evidently a portrait, but one whose individual characteristics were attenuated by the copyist's work; this will render the task of attaching a name to the elegant and inexpressive figure difficult and perhaps vain.

SEMIRAMIS, A GOTHIC FLORAL TAPESTRY IN THE HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

A recent addition to the collection of the Honolulu Academy of Arts is this unique Gothic floral tapestry with personages, a gift of the Charles M. and Anna C. Cooke Trust to commemorate the birthday of the founder, Mrs. Charles M. Cooke, and the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the Honolulu Academy. It was made at Tournai about 1480. The unusually beautiful floriation, of an earlier and different type from that found on *millefleurs*, resembles the floriation of the splendid armorial tapestry of Charles the Bold in the Berne Museum (G. L. Hunter, *Tapestries*, 1925, pl. XVIII, c).

Semiramis is one of the most famous women whose name has come down to us from antiquity. According to the Greeks, she mounted the throne of Assyria on her husband's death, built the walls and the hanging gardens of the city of Babylon, built also the temple of Bel, and the bridge over the Euphrates; conquered Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya, and organized a campaign against India. A stole found recently on the site of the ancient Assyrian city of Ashur (Jastrow's *Babylonia and Assyria*, 1915), shows that she was the daughter of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.), mother of Adadnirari IV (810-782), and wife of Shamshi-Adad V (823-811), but fails to confirm the wonder stories of the Greeks.

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However, the old French inscription on the tapestry reads:

"Je fus semiramis royne de babilone.
Barbariens conquis, yndoïs et syriens.
Jusques en septentrion alé et mis mon trosne.
Et sy occis le roy des ethiopiens."

(I was Semiramis, Queen of Babylon.
Barbarians I conquered, Indians and Syrians.
Far up in the North I went and set my throne.
And I also killed the King of the Ethiopians.)

which shows that in the fifteenth century the traditional account of Semiramis was still believed.

As a matter of fact, the fame of Semiramis had increased rather than diminished during the Middle Ages. She had been admitted to the ranks of the Nine World Heroines (*Preuses*), who correspond to the Nine World heroes (*Prenx*), celebrated in tapestry over and over again: three Pagan: Hector, Alexander, Caesar; three Hebrew: Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus; three Christian: Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey de Bouillon.

This tapestry is one of an original set of nine celebrating the *Preuses*. Here Semiramis is pictured as altogether feminine, though a warrior. Her long robe is brocaded with the pomegranate pattern that in the last half of the fifteenth century was the favorite pattern on damasks, brocades and tapestries. Her underskirt is of moiré silk. Over her velvet jacket she wears a richly jeweled coat of armor. While combing her hair before the luxurious mirror held by her domestic maid, she has been interrupted by one of her warrior maids carrying a huge spear and bringing a letter on some important affair of State. Both maids are elegantly dressed in long robes, one with ermine, the other with jeweled border. The tasseled head-dresses are quaint. The domestic maid has her hair hanging in a long braid.

Another one of the set of nine, or of a parallel set, is the *Penthesilea* at the Cathedral of Angers, but it is only a fragment and not in perfect condition. It has a similar French quatrain at the top, glorifying *Penthesilea*; and at the left, part of the coat-of-arms of *Penthesilea*.

The Honolulu tapestry is one of the finest of its kind in existence and except for the *Penthesilea* at Angers, the only Gothic tapestry known glorifying Semiramis as one of the *Preuses*.

SELEUCUS IV AS HERACLES A HELLENISTIC BRONZE IN KANSAS CITY

By Francis W. Robinson

The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City, Missouri, have recently acquired what is certainly one of the finest of ancient bronze statuettes in this country, and perhaps the finest Hellenistic bronze in America today—a twenty-inch figure of the Hellenistic king, Seleucus IV Philopator, in the guise of Heracles. It is in keeping with the Hellenistic conception of the king as deity made manifest that the Syrian ruler is shown in heroic nudity in the powerful form of the semi-god Heracles.

The ruler here represented has been identified as Seleucus IV Philopator, whose brief inglorious reign over the Seleucid kingdom from Syria to Nearer Iran between 187 and 176 B.C. forms a transition between the tempestuous rule of Antiochus III, called the Great (223-187), who in a career of mingled victory and defeat enlarged and solidified the Seleucid possessions, and the short but no less important rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (the Manifest God) (176-164), who conquered Egypt, tried to suppress Judaism, encouraged Hellenism and was acquainted with Rome, the rising power of the Western Mediterranean.

This dynamic figure posed with the grace of a young athlete has nothing of the massive musculature and heavy proportions found in such well-known representations as the Farnese Heracles. It is rather a development of the graceful athletic figures found among the works of Polyclitus in the Fifth century, of Praxiteles and Lysippus in the Fourth century, in the ease of the stance, the balance of the upper and lower body, and the graceful curve of the figure. The Hellenic tradition of inspired representation of the nude male figure, though approaching its end, is yet strong in this Second century work. It was Euthycides of Sicyon, a pupil of Lysippus, who created the statue of the Fortune of Antioch in Syria, chief seat of government of the Seleucid kingdom. It was another pupil of Lysippus, Chares of Lindus, who made the Colossus set up in Rhodes about 280 B.C., and the Rhodian school of Hellenistic sculpture shows many connections with the school of Lysippus. Thus it is not surprising to find the style of this master, the official artist of Alexander the Great, through his pupils and by way of the stepping stone of Rhodes, passed on to the Seleucid kingdom, centered in Syria, one of the successors to Alexander's larger empire. The style of Lysippus appears to be reflected in the Kansas City bronze.

A work of art of great beauty, enhanced by the jade green patination which time has added to the well-modeled surfaces, this bronze has great historical importance in view of the fact that few original life-size bronzes, once the common ornament of ancient Greek cities and temples, have survived from antiquity, and a large intact bronze of the size of the Kansas City figure offers valuable evidence upon the style of the bronze originals of Lysippus, now perished and known only in later marble copies.



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THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI BY JOOS VAN CLEVE

From an article by E. P. Richardson in the *Bulletin* (XXV, No. 1, 1946) of The Detroit Institute of Arts.

The Adoration of the Magi, by Joos van Cleve (Flemish, c. 1485-1540 or 41), the most recent gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb, brings into our collection a masterpiece of Flemish painting and adds another to the long series of notable benefactions to the museum by these generous donors. This great triptych is famous not only as an imposing and in the true sense gorgeous work of art but as Joos van Cleve's only fully-signed work and the key picture in the identification of an artist whose name was lost for centuries by a curious historical accident.

Joos van Cleve was one of the creators of the Antwerp school of painting, which rose at the beginning of the sixteenth century and included Quentin Metsys, Patinir, the founder of Flemish landscape painting, Pieter Bruegel, and finally Rubens and Van Dyck. His activity falls within the first forty years of the century which opens with the discovery of America. This century was one of immense creative effort. In every field of our civilization — science, art, religious and social organization — it had a lasting influence in the direction our life has followed. It was a century so prodigally rich in talents that it eludes the historian who tries to label it. The great explorations, the High Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, the rise of Spain enriched by the gold of Mexico and Peru to dominate the life of Europe, each of these is only one facet of its life. One of the most important changes it produced was a gradual shift in the center of gravity of Europe brought about by the discovery of America. The maritime countries

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Portrait of Duchess of Urbino by Lorenzo Costa
(1460-1535)

which looked out over the Atlantic began to replace the older lands looking on the Mediterranean as the great powers of Europe. The wealth of the New World made Spain the first Atlantic naval power but neither Spain nor France nor England became the center of the new economic life. The commerce of the Atlantic centered then as now in the narrow seas of the English channel but in English hands. The new sea-borne commerce centered in the Low Countries, on the mainland side of the channel, and for nearly a hundred years "the magnificent city of Antwerp, famous throughout every land" as Guicciardini, the Florentine historian, called it, was the greatest market and trading center of the new Atlantic world. After a century the Dutch stopped the commerce of the Scheldt and Amsterdam took Antwerp's place; a hundred years later still London took the place of Amsterdam. But for the better part of a century Antwerp was the point of focus where one could see the rich, ancient life of medieval Europe changing and flowing into the new life of the north Atlantic powers.

During that period, lasting roughly from the youth of Joos van Cleve to the death of Pieter Bruegel, a distinctive school of painting flourished at Antwerp. For thirty years Joos van Cleve seems to have been the outstanding painter of that city in the eyes of Italy, Cologne, France and perhaps England. Commissions came to him from as far afield as Danzig and Genoa and when he produced an outstanding picture—a splendid altar or particularly tender and touching Virgin and Child—one often finds workshop replicas of a part or even of the whole picture, testifying to the popularity of his compositions as they stood in the workshop before delivery or stood in position in church or palace. About 1530 when King Francis I of France married

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Eleanor of Austria and sent to Antwerp to bring some famous painter to his court, Joos van Cleve was chosen and went to Paris to paint the King and Queen and the princes of their court. Many versions of these portraits exist, of which Friedländer believes the *Francis I* in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, and the *Queen Eleanor* at Hampton Court are probably the first. On leaving Paris, Joos van Cleve visited England in 1536 and painted a portrait of *Henry VIII* which is still at Hampton Court.

It is curious that such a figure should afterward have lost his identity for centuries. But his name was obscured by a mistake on the part of Carel van Mander, the Dutch painter and historian whose *Schilderboek*, published in 1604, is the chief source of our knowledge of the early painters of the Netherlands. Van Mander confused Joos with his son Cornelis, called "Sotte" or "Foolish" Cleve because his vaulting ambition to become the portrait painter of the English court ended in disappointment so disastrous that he lost his reason. Van Mander jumbled the facts of both lives together under Cornelis' name, and Joos' individuality was forgotten. When art historians began the study of this period about two generations ago, his works were recognized as those of a great and distinct personality, and were grouped under the title of the "Master of the Death of the Virgin" because of the subject of two remarkable pictures in Munich and Cologne. After several attempts to identify him had proved mistaken, the Master of the Death of the Virgin was recognized as Joos van der Beke van Cleve, an artist fully documented in the Antwerp records from his entry into the painters' guild in 1511 until he made his will on November 10, 1540, followed by a reference to his wife as a widow on April 13, 1541. He owned two houses in Antwerp, was twice married,

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and was three times head of the painters' guild. His full monogram appears in the Detroit painting alone, so that this is the key picture in the reconstruction of his work. On the scabbard of the oldest Wise Man are the initials *J* and *B*; while on the collar of the greyhound beside the Moorish Wise Man are two heraldic shields, one with an anchor, the other with the conjoined arms of the Duchy of Cleve and the County of van der Marck (which were united by a marriage about 1520): Joos van der Beke van Cleve.

This *Adoration of the Magi* has not only this historical interest as a document but is the first large, complete triptych of the Flemish school in our collection. It shows the massive gorgeousness of Flemish painting in an altarpiece of generous scale and elaborate subject matter. (The three panels are 35 inches high, the width of the center portion 25½ inches, and of each wing 11 inches.) Across the foreground is spread the scene of the Magi. The oldest king has laid down his golden sceptre and his gift to kiss the hand of the tiny Child, whose Mother sits before the ruins of a palace with broken porphyry columns, which was a symbol of antiquity. The two younger kings, represented in costumes of fantastic splendor, fill the two wings. Behind the Virgin, in the middle distance, a sinister crowd of men with pikes and spears can be seen bursting through the door of the ruined palace. These are Herod's men who announce the next scene of the story, the Massacre of the Innocents. St. Joseph, behind the oldest king, has already shouldered his pack and staff and raises his hand in a gesture of hurry and alarm, showing that it is high time for the Holy Family to be off to Egypt to seek safety from Herod's cruelty. Behind this drama of humanity, the landscape spreads out peaceful and hills. Joos van Cleve's color is cool, bright and glowing. He paints in a color scheme characterized by the rich chromatic scale

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untroubled, filled with lovely meadows and woods, lakes and of blues—cool cerulean blue, green blues, cobalts, and blues flushed with red glowing to violet and purple—into which are set striking notes of red and gold and green.

Joos van Cleve first appears on the guild lists of Antwerp in 1511. Dr. Ludwig Baldass (*Joos van Cleve*, 1925) has established that he must before this have worked at Bruges from 1507 on and studied Memling's pictures there. Dr. Max J. Friedländer (*Altniederländische Malerei*, IX, p. 58 ff.) has offered ingenious proof that he worked still earlier with Jan Joest in the creation of his great altar at Calcar, only a few miles from his native town of Cleve. But the influence of Bruges and especially of Memling underlies his work at Antwerp. He was after all very similar to Memling in temperament. His natural feeling was gentle and serene. He had an instinctive delicacy of mood and refined richness of style. He had a marked narrative gift with a rich power of invention and his naturally tender sentiment made him the most attractive Madonna painter of the Antwerp School. Like Memling, he was at his best in serene or happy subjects. The hint of tragedy in the background of this *Adoration* is perhaps as successfully expressed as tragic feeling ever is in his works. His style, after he settled at Antwerp in 1511, can be divided into three phases. In the first, lasting about ten years, he was strongly influenced by the restless, nervous style of the Antwerp Mannerists, although remaining much superior to them in artistic knowledge and subtlety. In the second period, in the 1520's he shows the influence of the Italian Renaissance in an increasing monumentality. This phase is represented by a group of large altarpieces which may be taken as the culmination of his narrative style—the *Detroit Adoration* (about 1525), another large *Adoration* in Dresden (809a) and the *Virgin and Child with Saints* in Vienna. About 1530 a strong influence of Leonardo da Vinci begins to make itself felt. He executed an important commission for a church in Genoa at this time and may have visited northern Italy. He certainly came into touch with the work of Leonardo and his followers when King Francis I of France invited him to his court, sometime after 1530. The three paintings by Leonardo which a Spanish traveler saw in the royal collection in 1517—the *Madonna and Child with St. Anne*, the *St. John the Baptist*, and a third picture which some scholars believe was the *Mona Lisa*—were among the proudest possessions of the French king and Joos van Cleve may be supposed to have seen them. Certainly the use of Italian poses and an increasing chiaroscuro inspired by Leonardo mark the works of his last period. *The Adoration of the Magi* by Joos van Cleve just added to our collection is thus a major work of his mature period and of his most characteristic independent style.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

Mostra della Pittura Antica in Liguria del Trecento al Cinquecento. Genoa, Palazzo Reale, 1946. Catalogue by Antonio Morassi. Milan, Luigi Alfieri. 94 pages, 52 illus.

Almost 2000 works of art were removed from churches, museums and private collections in and around Genoa for safe keeping during the war. Before being returned to their places 85 of the most interesting early paintings were shown in a special exhibition. The North Italian, Venetian, Pisan, Florentine and Sienese schools as well as Flemish XV century painting were represented by interesting and important works; including two unpublished works of Paolo Veronese. A second exhibition to show the paintings of the XVII and XVIII centuries is projected.

Nederlandsche Kunst von de XVde en XVIde Eeuw. The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1946. Text volume, 81 pages; volume of illus., 28 pages, 26 plates.

Herwonnen Kunstbezit. The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1946. 62 pages, 18 plates.

Dr. J. G. van Gelder, during his brief period as director of the Mauritshuis, arranged two important exhibitions. The exhibition of XV and XVI century painting, besides offering an excellent survey, was interesting for revealing the notable efforts of Dutch collectors to reacquire great works of their national art which had long been in other countries. From England Mr. Van Beuningen has thus acquired the notable pre-Van Eyck triptych of about 1410 from the Duke of Norfolk's collection (sold 1938 at Christie's), and the *Prophet Isaiah* by the Master of Aix, the *Three Marys at the Tomb* by Jan van Eyck and a Mabuse portrait from the Cook collection. Other pictures have been acquired from England, France, Germany and Austria. The second catalogue is even more useful as a guide to the wanderings of works of art in the past few years, since the works included will probably all remain the property of the Dutch state.

De Hollandsche Schilderkunst van Jeroen Bosch tot Rembrandt. Palais voor Schoone Kunsten, Brussels. Editions de la Connaissance, Brussels, 1946. 40 pages, 115 black and white illus., 4 color reproductions. Foreword by G. van der Leeuw, introduction by A. van Schendel. The 121 paintings represented the highest quality of the principal Dutch museums collections.

Van Jan van Eyck tot Rubens. Meesterwerken uit de Belgische Musea en Kerken. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1946. 42 pages, 40 black and white illus., 8 color reproductions. Text (in Dutch) consists of an introduction by Leo van Puyvelde and an essay by A. J. J. Delen. The paintings illustrated are mostly well known

works. The exhibition included many of the most important possessions of Belgian public collections.

Tentoonstelling van Aanwisten, 1940-1946. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1946.

The catalogue of this exhibition, held during the past summer, of the acquisitions made by the Rijksmuseum during the war is of uncommon interest. In the first place it is a tribute to the tenacity and sense of national purpose on the part of the direction of Holland's leading museum that it should have continued to build up its collection with important acquisitions in all fields in spite of the war and the German occupation. In the second, it is clear that the policy of building up the Italian collection, begun by Schmidt-Degener, is being energetically pushed forward by the new director: in drawings and paintings the interest of the acquisitions is almost evenly divided between Italy and the Netherlands. In the decorative arts the richest additions have been in the field of the Dutch eighteenth century, which seems definitely to have emerged from the shadow of the seventeenth century into well-deserved attention.

Cornelis Troost en zijn Tijd. Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1946. 118 pages plus 47 plates.

Troost, a very capable and delightful Dutch painter of conversation pieces in the same humorous vein as Hogarth, is hardly known outside of Holland. The Boymans Museum recreated the whole world of Dutch eighteenth century art around Troost as the central figure, in an exhibition which must have been in the best tradition of Dutch museum practice.

The Arts of French Canada, 1613-1870. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1946. 52 pages, 41 illus. Preface by E. P. Richardson; introduction by Marius Barbeau; sculpture, by Marius Barbeau; silver, by Louis Carrier; painting, by Robert H. Hubbard. The first comprehensive account in English of the French Colonial school of art on the St. Lawrence.

DAVIES, Martin. *National Gallery Catalogues: The British School.* London, 1946, 4 shillings.

The third section of the new catalogues of The National Gallery, London, by Mr. Martin Davies shows the same characteristics as the preceding two: an extreme exactness, precision and completeness in the description of each painting and a scrupulous care in the attribution. Owing to the nature of the material, there are not a great number of changes of attribution, but there are some. No. 1544 (formerly Thornhill); 3727 (formerly Wilson); 3725 (Anglo-Dutch); 4003 (Brooking); are, for example, no longer listed as British. A cross listing of the schools to which these have been transferred would have been helpful. Of the foreign painters who worked in England (always a vexing question) Fuseli, Holbein, Jacob Huysmans, Cornelius Johnson, Kneller, Lely, Mytens, Gilbert Stuart, West, Whistler, Zoffany are included in this British section; Van Dyck is not.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED
BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

OF THE ART QUARTERLY published four times per year at Detroit, Michigan, for Oct. 1946.
State of Michigan, County of Wayne—ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Marion B. Owen, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Secretary of THE ART QUARTERLY and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are: Publisher, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan; Editors, W. R. Valentiner and E. P. Richardson, Detroit, Michigan.

2. That the owner is: The Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit, Michigan.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

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MARION B. OWEN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of October, 1946.

(SEAL.)

ALFRED V. LaPOINTE.

(My commission expires Sept. 17, 1950.)

